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ABSTRACT

The need for a new projective instrument for use with low-income, disadvantaged populations is postulated in this study, and the development of such an instrument, the Value Orientation Test (VOT), is undertaken. With a theoretical foundation drawn from the "culture of poverty" school of thought, the test is related to the implicit hypotheses of this concept. Exploration is made theoretically of the culture of poverty thesis, and findings from administration of the VOT are compared with it. Examination is also made of the study of values and the use of projective tests in the social sciences. The culture of poverty thesis is found lacking in empirical support, and the data here gathered lend added weight to doubts of its validity. It is concluded that the VOT has many potential uses in training and work-placement programs for the disadvantaged worker, as well as theoretical value to testing the culture of poverty thesis. A new scoring system has been developed, and a manual with complete instructions for administering and scoring the test is appended to the report. A related document is available as ED 057 256. (Author/MF)

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THE VALUE ORIENTATION TEST: AN EXPLORATION OF THE CULTURE OF POVERTY THESIS USING A NEW PROJECTIVE INSTRUMENT

MARJORIE G. KELLEY
CENTER FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

CENTER RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT REPORT NO. 15

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CENTER FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION
NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH
1972

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THE VALUE ORIENTATION TEST: AN EXPLORATION OF THE CULTURE OF POVERTY THESIS USING A NEW PROJECTIVE INSTRUMENT

Marjorie G. Kelley

Center for Occupational Education

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Center Research and Development Report No. 15

Center for Occupational Education
North Carolina State University at Raleigh

1972

PREFACE

This report is part of a project entitled "An Evaluation of a Project Called Concerted Services in Training and Education in Rural Areas," and it grew out of a concern with the effects of personal background variables on occupational training and job placement for the disadvantaged. This concern led to an interest in the characteristics often attributed to the poor and subsumed under the term "culture of poverty." This is the second and more extensive of two investigations of this subject. The first report was The Culture of Poverty: An Exploration in Culture and Personality, Center Monograph No. 6, published in 1971. Attention has focused particularly on the value systems which are believed to motivate and affect behavior in both familiar and new situations. In order to try to measure these values and to determine whether they were amenable to modification by training programs, the idea of using a projective instrument was conceived.

The writer and the Center wish to acknowledge several persons for their contributions to the preparation of this report, including Dr. B. Eugene Griessman and Charles V. Lair of Auburn University and Drs. Selz C. Mayo, Glenn C. McCann, Bruce Norton, and John L. Wasik of North Carolina State University. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Joseph R. Clary, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina State Advisory Council on Vocational Education, for his pre-publication review of this report; to Mrs. Sue King for editing the manuscript; and to Mrs. Olive Maynard for typing the finished copy. The Center wishes to thank its entire staff for their clerical and technical efforts toward the publication of this report.

-John K. Coster
Director

SUMMARY

The need for a new projective instrument for use with low-income, disadvantaged populations is postulated in this study, and the development of such an instrument, the Value Orientation Test (VOT), is undertaken. With a theoretical foundation drawn from the "culture of poverty" school of thought, the test is related to the implicit hypotheses of this concept. Exploration is made theoretically of the culture of poverty thesis, and findings from administration of the VOT are compared with it. Examination is also made of the study of values and the use of projective tests in the social sciences.

The culture of poverty thesis is found lacking in empirical support, and the data here gathered lend added weight to doubts of its validity.

Interscorer reliability of the new VOT was established at .63 in limited preliminary efforts. A reasonably high level of criterion-related validity was found by comparison of VOT scores with ratings by a training staff (X^2 average = 10.97, significant at .001). A new scoring system has been developed, and a manual with complete instructions for administering and scoring the test is appended to the report.

It is concluded that the VOT has many potential uses in training and work-placement programs for the disadvantaged worker, as well as theoretical value to testing the culture of poverty thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Study

The present work is devoted to developing the testing instrument, the Value Orientation Test (VOT), and to relating it theoretically to the culture of poverty thesis. Closely entwined, therefore, in the efforts to develop the test are explorations of the study of values, an appraisal of the culture of poverty thesis, and the use of projective techniques in the social sciences. These theoretical rationales are examined in some detail for the purpose of justifying the construction of a new projective instrument, and in order to study the relationship of the Value Orientation Test to the concepts of the culture of poverty. The hypothesis being explored is that the VOT will reveal strong evidence of the value orientations attributed to people said to have this cultural pattern.

The VOT was designed in the context of occupational education needs and is intended to have practical as well as theoretical value. To indicate its potential, some applied uses for such a test are outlined in the final chapter. Efforts at establishing test reliability and validity are described, and some norms are given for the population tested. Some of the findings in preliminary use of the test are presented and related to the hypotheses of the so-called culture of poverty. A comprehensive manual for the administration and scoring of the test is included as Appendix A. Review of relevant literature is made throughout the text.

Because the funds for this project were unexpectedly terminated early in 1971, certain refinements of test development have not been attempted. It is suggested that what has been learned so far reveals promise for the possibilities of this test if its development can be further pursued.

The Problem

It has been repeatedly contended by trainers and employers that the value systems which seem to influence the attitudes and conduct of workers are often more important than their specific technical skills. This is said to be especially true of workers from underprivileged groups, whose relationship to the job market has been tenuous, and who have thus had little socialization to the world of work.[1]

Attitudes toward achievement, work discipline, interpersonal relationships, expectations of self and others, and related realms of behavior have all been found to have important bearing on the kinds of training that will be absorbed by individuals and on their performance when actually confronted with job opportunities. It is a postulate of this study that such attitudes are manifestations of latent value systems.

Despite this growing concern on the part of trainers, educators, and employers, there seem to be few instruments for measuring relevant value factors that meet the following criteria:

1. Ease of administration and interpretation by nonclinical personnel.

2. Relative freedom from built-in biases that penalize the undereducated or those with differing subcultural patterns in test-taking.

3. Ability to reflect spontaneous, rather than "socialized," responses produced to meet the supposed expectations of the tester.

To elaborate on these criteria:

1. Ease of administration refers to both the level of training needed by those who are to administer the test and the settings in which it can be given. For purposes of occupational education, it would be desirable to provide a test that could be administered by any competent person rather than solely by a professionally trained tester. Moreover, an instrument that can be administered to an entire group at once,

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[1] The experience of several federally funded programs for developing new career opportunities for the disadvantaged seems to confirm this claim. Mobility programs conducted in North Carolina found that counseling and orientation in attitudes toward work and toward a life style connected with regular employment were required not only for the worker but for the entire family. The Manpower Development Corporation in this state now focuses its training on work orientations rather than in skill training, and on family counseling to support the worker's role. The New Careers program combines orientation, counseling, and skill training with on-the-job experience. Many youth programs, such as Youth Employment Services (YES), have found the need for the same kind of "attitude-training" to be paramount (based on personal experience as a consultant to such programs). See also U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971.

wherever, a slide projector can be used, has distinct advantages over one that must be given privately to each individual.

2. It is well recognized that many tests, because of their dependency on standard language skills, abstract concepts, or culture-related experiences, place at a decided disadvantage those persons whose educational level or whose subcultural experiences have not equipped them to respond in patterns for which the tests have been standardized. What is needed is an instrument that presents recognizable situations for the population being tested and allows optimum freedom to respond in forms not alien to the subcultural style. A picture test designed with such situations in mind, presented with simple, clear-cut instructions, and asking for an individually constructed story may meet this requirement.

3. Many highly structured tests with formal questions requiring specific answers, even when they do not penalize a subject because of his different cultural frame of reference, often "telegraph" the answers; that is, subjects have been socialized sufficiently to have some notion of what the tester considers a "correct" answer. They tend, therefore, to produce what they think are desirable responses. A request to create a story about a rather ambiguous picture frees the subject from these expectations and permits a more spontaneous response.

An instrument with these features would provide a useful tool for identifying potential problems in training and educational programs. If, for example, a test could discriminate between probable job achievers and non-achievers, or detect those with poorly controlled or misdirected hostility, information would be available early in a training program that would permit special counseling and corrective measures that might reduce dropout rates, accelerate learning and generally adaptive behavior, and improve other interpersonal adjustments. Thus, the instrument used becomes central in this study of value orientations ascribed to those in the "culture of poverty."

Staff members of several training programs have already expressed an interest in such an instrument. New Careers[2] counselors, for example, have indicated that if such a test were available it could prove very useful in their work with trainees. As in many training programs, their dropout rates are high, and it is felt that some of this attrition could be avoided if a sensitive instrument were available to help staff predict or anticipate certain types of problems. Personnel of the Mobility and Manpower programs have also indicated their interest in such an evaluative tool.

Background of Project

An evaluation of the Concerted Services in Training and Education Program (CSTE) undertaken in 1967 by the Center for Occupational Education at North Carolina State University involved, among other things, interviewing persons enrolled in various training programs in the pilot areas of Minnesota, Arkansas, and New Mexico (Griessman, 1968, 1969). These trainees included individuals from varied cultural, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

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[2] A federally funded anti-poverty program.

Most of the trainees and graduates who were interviewed came from low-income families. One of the questions of interest to the evaluation team was how personal background variables affect participation in training programs and, eventually, job experiences. Social scientists still have much to learn about the social milieu of the poor. Only within recent years has it become sociologically fashionable to give serious study to poverty and its effects on personality structure. Some observers have advanced the idea that the poor are characterized by a distinctive set of value orientations. This notion has been hotly contested on the grounds that the differences are not qualitative but quantitative. (We shall examine these positions further in a later section.)

The CSTE project director, Dr. B. Eugene Griessman, conceived the idea of using a projective technique to investigate questions raised in the controversy about the existence of a "culture of poverty" and its effect on work-related behavior.

A set of special pictures was prepared, each picture created to tap one or more of the postulated value orientations associated with the hypothesized culture of poverty. This projective instrument was named the Value Orientation Test (VOT).

The VOT has a generalized focus in that it measures values and attitudes not all of which are specifically work-oriented. Nevertheless, there is much evidence that the impact of these values on job and training performance is considerable. The sketches utilized in the VOT are designed to elicit responses relevant to the following variables: the work ethic, education, anomie, fatalism, powerlessness, alienation, traditionalism, racial prejudice, achievement, geographical mobility, and attitudes toward authority. (The eleven pictures are described in Appendix A.) All of these variables are included in the usual catalogs of traits attributed to those demonstrating the culture of poverty syndrome.

In a procedure similar to that used with the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the VOT was administered to the trainees, and protocols from over 300 subjects were collected. Besides background information on the subjects, responses to several standardized attitude scales were obtained. These include the Srole Anomia Scale, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, and the Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions (Rundquist and Sletto) on General Adjustment, Family, Law, Economic Conservatism, and Education. In addition to the several hundred protocols collected during the program evaluation, the VOT has been subsequently administered to 70 trainees in the New Careers program in Raleigh, North Carolina. This was intended to be a cross-validating sample, since there was an opportunity to work with the program's counselors in order to compare VOT scores with counselor's ratings of trainees. The work with this group will be described in more detail in the section on research procedures.

Objectives

Two major objectives form this study. One is to examine the culture of poverty thesis critically through a review of relevant theory and through use of a projective instrument. The other is to develop the Value Orientation Test, which is seen to have potential for other uses as well. Hence, special attention is given to producing a practical projective test that can measure work-significant value orientations of low-income candidates for various forms of occupational education and training. This instrument is then used to elicit some findings from experimental administration of the test to several low-income groups. These findings are related to the culture of poverty issue. The correlation of VOT findings with culture of poverty theory is considered important because of its implications for work with the impoverished in occupational training.

To meet these objectives, the following steps have been undertaken:

1. Exploring theoretical foundations for the culture of poverty thesis and for the VOT.
2. Developing testing procedures that are efficient and reliable.
3. Developing reliable scoring procedures that can be used by persons who may lack professional training in testing.
4. Preparing a manual with instructions for administering, scoring, and interpreting the test.
5. Demonstrating criterion-related validity of the instrument.
6. Noting some of the findings of the test and comparing them with the culture of poverty thesis.

Theoretical foundations will first be investigated with examination of the study of values in the social sciences.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Value Orientations

> Problems of values appear in all fields of the social sciences, and value elements are potentially important as variables to be analyzed in all major areas of investigation (Williams, 1968: 286).

In the past three decades the study of values has gained increasing recognition and respectability in even the most behaviorally oriented social science disciplines (Williams, 1968; Asch, 1959; Kolb, 1957; Maslow, 1959; Parsons and Shils, 1959; Postman _et_ _al_., 1948; White, 1951). Yet there is by no means a single clear and accepted definition of this concept. Clyde Kluckhohn's (1951) well-known statement, slightly modified, will provide the basis for our definition. A value is

> a conception, explicit, or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, . . . which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.

Values are both _explanations_ of a social situation (whether causal or mythical) and _standards_ of appropriate action designed to produce some desired resolution or management of the situation. Values are paradigms that, to the extent they are held in common, lay a foundation of shared expectations and make possible the orienting of human behavior (Johnson, 1966).

Although values can be distinguished from attitudes, motives, and norms in strict usage, motivation is included here as part of the value orientation system since "a motive comprises two parts: value and intention" (Carson, 1969).

"Value" is thus identified with broad, fundamental orientations toward life, generally shared by members of a society or subgroup. They are preferences that serve to integrate as well as to guide and channel activities in functionally important areas of life (Becker, 1964). It is important to note that value orientations may be "negative" (e.g., distrust) as well as "positive" (e.g., trust). It is generally agreed that values as reflected in experience are not sharply separated units, independent from other coexisting values. The actual content and boundaries of any value will be affected by its relations to other values (Williams, 1968).

For the purposes of this study, a "value orientation" represents an intervening variable that may account for a particular response to a given stimulus.

> When most explicit and fully conceptualized, values become criteria for judgment, preference, and choice. When implicit and unreflective, values nevertheless perform as if they constituted grounds for decisions in behavior (Williams, 1968).[3]

Since values are defined as not only individual but group phenomena and thus tend to become cultural patterns, the questions arise: Where do they come from, and why do they exist? Gans (1969) explains the value orientations of class subcultures as responses that have developed to a common life situation in which people find themselves. Specifically, in Gans' terms, they are responses to "the opportunities and deprivations that they encounter." This theoretical position suggests that value orientations typically vary in terms of subcultures and social classes. Furthermore, there is a likelihood that a self-fulfilling process gets under way as values and opportunity structures interact. This question will be more fully examined in the next section.

The description and analysis of values by social scientists are based on the use of several lines of evidence. Some clues may be obtained from testimony of individuals themselves. Although such testimony is rarely fully accurate or complete, it should not be ignored as totally unreliable. Evidence may also be gathered from systematic study of choices of objects and actions, either in "natural" behavior or in experiments. Directions of interest may be shown by cultural products as well as by observed behavior. Content analysis of verbal materials is a technique often used for this purpose; identification of implicit assumptions in social discourse may reveal values not otherwise easily accessible. Observation of rewards and punishments can help identify socially effective standards actually operating in a group.

These sources of evidence indicate so many "operational definitions" of value, according to Williams (1960). The Value Orientation Test potentially taps all of these sources: value as overt choice or preference, as attention or emphasis, as statement or assertion, as implicit premise, and as a reflection of social sanctions. All are useful indicators (Williams, 1960).

Since values have been said to be both group (cultural) and individual (personality) phenomena, let us look briefly at the relationship of these two forces before turning to an examination of the "culture of poverty" and its hypothesized values.

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[3] Parsons specifically includes the idea of orientation in his definition of value: "An element of a shared symbolic system which serves as a criterion or standard for selection among the alternatives of orientation which are intrinsically open in a situation may be called a value" (Parsons, 1951).

The Relationship Between Culture and Personality

Among the social forces with which programs in occupational education must contend are differences in life style, belief systems, attitudes toward work, motivation, and similar characteristics which are usually embraced under the term culture. Since many occupational efforts are directed toward low-income populations, the culture patterns described are usually attributed to the "culture of poverty." This and the following two sections will attempt to examine the relations between culture and personality, to explore the concept "culture of poverty," and to review some of the theoretical bases for such a concept.

When several persons react in the same way to a particular situation, the cause must be sought in experience which such individuals have in common (Linton, 1945); but the fact that most human behavior is taught in the form of organized configurations, rather than simply developed by the individual on the basis of unique experiences, is of the utmost importance to personality studies. It means that the way a person responds to a particular situation often provides a better clue to what his teaching has been than to what his personality is (Linton, 1945). Hence, one of the most basic problems confronting students of personality is the degree to which deeper levels of personality are conditioned by environmental factors (Linton, 1945).

One of the major contributions of cultural anthropology to social psychology is the idea that there is a direct link between the culture in which an individual is reared and the formation of his personality. (Linton, 1945; Kluckhohn *et al.*, 1961; Kaplan, 1961; Lipset and Lowenthal, 1961; Barnouw, 1963). Among the recurrent processes studied by sociologists and social psychologists that are relevant to our study are socialization, attitude development and change, perception and interpretation of social events, group formation, and communication. These processes occur not only at the social-psychological level, but also at the sociocultural level. A central problem is the relation between these two levels (Lambert and Lambert, 1964).

There are three major ways in which these processes are linked. First, individual and group social-psychological processes often depend on processes occurring in the larger sociocultural context. Society-wide developments and events often quite directly control what occurs on the micro-level. Second, many theorists see events at the sociocultural level as simply a summated accretion of smaller social-psychological events. A third view is that social-psychological events mediate and integrate broader processes occurring in society and culture, thus uniting the two levels through personality and its associated interactions (Lambert and Lambert, 1964).

By culture is meant primarily an organized group of behavior patterns, or more elaborately, "A configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (Linton, 1945). In more common terms, it is a distinctive way of life. Innumerable details of behavior are included in this phrase, but they all represent normal, anticipated responses of a social group's members to particular situations (Linton, 1945).

When we speak here of "ways of life" or "culture" we are primarily concerned with the value-attitude systems as differentiating subgroups of people. Once established in the individual, such systems operate automatically and for the most part, below the level of consciousness, and they are extremely hard to extinguish. They seem to be easy to establish in childhood but very difficult to remold in adult life (Linton, 1945).

By personality is meant an enduring, organized aggregate of psychological processes and states of an individual, which constitute a many-sided entity consisting of biological, psychological, and social elements (Weinberg, 1970). The only grounds for assuming the existence of an abstraction like personality as an operative entity is the consistency of the overt behavior of individuals (Linton, 1945). The same may be said for culture. These constructs share important Gestalt properties.

> Personalities, cultures, and societies are all configurations in which the patterning and organization of the whole is more important than any of the component parts (Linton, 1945).

The process of personality formation seems to be mainly the integration of experience. This experience is somehow assimilated, organized, and perpetuated by the individual, principally as a result of his interaction with other human beings and his general environment. The results have both common and unique qualities.

Thus attitudes and values are a major part of both culture and personality systems. Some attitudes become so generalized that they influence the bulk of the individual's behavior. On the basis of such highly generalized attitudes, we characterize individuals as optimistic or pessimistic, introvert or extrovert, trusting or suspicious. Since the experiences leading to these generalized responses, which constitute what Kardiner has called the "projective system" (Kardiner, 1944), are largely derived from contact with the culturally patterned behavior of other individuals, the norms for projective systems will tend to differ in different societies or subgroups (Linton, 1945). These facts have led to the formulation of such concepts as "modal personalities" or Linton's (1945) Basic Personality Type, which are to be found in various cultures. It is not suggested that such an "ideal type" personality will actually be found in any society, but only that it represents a mode within certain ranges of variation.

Just as there are differences among societies and their cultures, so there are obviously differences in life styles among socioeconomic classes and, even more importantly, differences in life chances. The latter have to do with the possibilities throughout one's life cycle, from the chance to stay alive during the first year after birth, through the school years--the chance to attend a scholastically adequate primary school, to finish high school, to go to college--to the chance of reaching old age. All are to some extent determined by the stratum to which one is born. Statistical data on these facts are well established, as Antonovsky's survey of 30 studies from different western nations testifies (Antonovsky, 1967). Differential rates and types of mental illness and health care according to social class have also been documented (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958). The question arises: Do these different life chances and life styles also lead to genuine differences in value systems, or are they simply different manifestations of similar values?

Many social scientists and other observers agree that different configurations of responses are linked with socially delineated groups within a society, such as classes and ethnic groups. Linton (1945) calls these "status personalities." Status personalities are superimposed on a society's basic personality type, and the two are thoroughly integrated. A status personality will rarely include any value-attitude system unknown to members of other status groups, but it may very well include value-attitude systems in which members of other status groups do not normally participate. Linton notes,

> Interpersonal relations which are of such paramount importance in the formation of personality cannot be understood except with reference to the positions which individuals occupy in the social structure of their society (Linton, 1945).

Heller (1969) agrees:

> Of all the variables that the sociologist employs in his analysis, few are as predictive as socioeconomic status. The vast number of specific areas, patterns, and nuances of behavior that vary with social stratum could perhaps be best subsumed under the concepts of life chances and ways of life.

"Ways of life," to Heller, conveys an image of the total nature of social existence--including the general orientation to basic universal human problems, the goals and values, and the social organization--as well as modes of expression.

The notion of subculture grows out of the concept of culture and is related to Linton's term status personality. It implies that there are groups within a society that have distinctive life ways, even though they may share many features of the total societal culture as well. The concept of a culture of poverty is one postulate of this sort. Let us examine it in more detail.

The Culture of Poverty

The idea that a specific "culture of poverty" exists has been widely accepted, despite some sharp challenges to its authenticity

(Lewis, 1966a; Turner, 1964; Gans, 1962; Rodman, 1963; Hyman, 1953; Valentine, 1968; Miller, 1964, 1965). This view is consistent with a considerable amount of empirical study that has been made of the differential subcultural patterns of socioeconomic classes in American society, but there are also many inconsistencies in the data and in their interpretation. The issue is far from being settled. One of the difficulties is lack of uniform terminology. Some writers distinguish sharply between "working-class" and "lower-class" culture, notably Gans (1962). Others use the terms interchangeably. When the phrase "culture of poverty" is used here, its reference is intended to be to those considered chronically impoverished in terms of their society's standards, and occupying a position in the lower classes.

Two competing hypotheses are found in the large sociological literature on the question of whether different social strata have truly different value systems. Turner calls these the "culture variation" and the "subculture" hypotheses (Turner, 1964). The first holds that there is a uniform system of values common to all classes within the society and that class differences consist mainly of variations on these values, differential commitment to them, and differential rates of deviation from them. The subculture approach, on the other hand, makes the assumption that each class is to some extent a "self-contained universe, developing a distinctive set of values which guides members' way of life." These class subcultures "are constrained by the necessity to maintain working relations with other classes within a general national framework," but they nevertheless differ fundamentally from each other in many respects (Heller, 1969). While these two positions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, their points of emphases differ substantially and lead to different analyses.

Foremost among those who stress the common value system is Parsons (1964), who also recognizes the existence of "secondary or subsidiary or variant value patterns." Similarly, those who insist that different classes hold different values do not deny the existence also of a common core of values.

The outstanding proponent of the idea of a "culture of poverty" has been the late anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1966b)[4], who suggested it in 1959 (Lewis, 1959). Lewis argues that the culture of poverty is international in scope, that similarities among the poor transcend regional, rural-urban, and national differences. It shows remarkable likeness in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value systems, and spending patterns. In a famous generalization about the self-perpetuation of the culture of poverty, Lewis (1966b) describes the situation thus:

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[4] Lewis acknowledges that he literally means "subculture of poverty" but has shortened the phrase for convenience.

> Once it comes into existence it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effects on children. By the time slum children are age six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.

This notion of a self-perpetuating culture of poverty has been widespread and influential. Michael Harrington in his persuasive book on "the other America" states flatly that "poverty in the United States is a culture, an institution, a way of life" (Harrington, 1962).[5] Many pages and many orations have been devoted to the "third-generation welfare family." According to Valentine, who is a severe critic of this concept, there has been a long line of social science writing which fostered belief in a special culture of poverty (Valentine, 1968). He argues cogently that despite the proliferation of work on this subject, the existence of a culture of poverty has not been convincingly demonstrated. He traces the development of this "myth" as far back as Frazier's descriptions of the Negro family in Chicago (Frazier, 1932) and up through Moynihan's recent controversial report on the same subject (Moynihan, 1965). Let us examine some of the data and some of the contradictions.

Lewis (1966b) distinguishes between the culture of poverty and poverty itself; they do not necessarily embrace the same groups of people. (There are those, for example, who live in poverty by choice, such as students, bohemians, and members of some religious orders. There are also those who are temporarily poor, like some of the aged or those who have suffered financial setbacks but were not brought up in the culture of poverty.) It is far easier, Lewis argues, to eliminate poverty than to eliminate the culture of poverty. He characterizes those who live in the culture of poverty as removed and alienated, ignorant and uninterested, uninvolved, and apathetic toward all dimensions of the wider world. He also endows them with a greater degree of spontaneity, impulse gratification, and hedonism. In fact, he has compiled a list of more than 70 traits that characterize the culture of poverty. These have been widely repeated and endorsed by a number of investigators and writers. Riessman and his associates (1964) list the following "major themes" in low-income culture:

Security vs. status
Pragmatism and anti-intellectualism
Powerlessness, an unpredictable world, and fate
Alienation, anger, and underdog complex
Cooperation, gregariousness, equalitarianism, humor
Authority and informality (not contradictory, they argue)
Person-centered outlook, particularism

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[5] Lewis says Harrington used the term in a "somewhat broader and less technical sense" than Lewis intended it (Lewis, 1966b).

Physicalism, masculinity, health
Traditionalism and prejudice
Excitement, action, luck, consumer orientation
Non-joining
Special significance of the extended family; stable, female-based household.

They also offer a list of characteristic elements of the cognitive style of low-income groups:

Physical and visual, rather than aural
Content-centered rather than form-centered
Externally oriented rather than introspective
Problem-centered rather than abstract
Inductive rather than deductive
Spatial rather than temporal
Slow, careful, patient, persevering (in areas of importance), rather than quick, facile, clever
Games and action vs. test-oriented
Expressive vs. instrumental-oriented
One-track thinking and unorthodox learning rather than other-directed flexibility (inventive word-power and "hip" language)

Other traits mentioned by various authors have included: present-time orientation; inability to plan or to defer immediate gratification; great hostility and suspicion toward the outside world and often toward each other; total segregation of the sexes in terms of social activities, as well as hostility and suspicion toward each other; child neglect, hence early independence of children; no work orientation; lack of motivation to succeed (Haggstrom, 1964; Gans, 1962; Lewis, 1966b).

Gans (1969) is among those sociologists who favor the subculture hypothesis, and he, like Lewis, attempts to explain the existence of these variant subcultures. He defines them as responses that have developed to a common life situation in which people of a given stratum find themselves. Each subculture, according to Gans, is

> an organized set of related responses that has developed out of people's efforts to cope with the opportunities, incentives, and rewards, as well as the deprivations, prohibitions, and pressures which the natural environment and society . . . offer to them.

Especially crucial to the development of the subculture are the occupational opportunities of males in the social class.

> These responses cannot develop in a vacuum. Over the long range, they can be seen as functions of the resources which a society has available, and of the opportunities which it can offer. In each of the subcultures life is thus geared to the availability of specific qualitative types and quantities of income, education, and occupational opportunities.

Lewis (1966b) explains the culture of poverty thus:

> The culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.

Walter Miller (1958) also points out that the "focal concerns" of lower-class culture are often useful devices for coping with their environment.

Values become closely interlocked with what is commonly called motivation. American class differences in educational and occupational aspirations and values related to the American notion of success are explored by Mizruchi (1964), who seeks to test Merton's theory of anomie: that the social structure exercises pressure on lower-class individuals to engage in nonconforming behavior. Merton's (1957) well known thesis is, briefly, that the goals of success are held out as legitimate objectives for all in the United States, while the acceptable means of reaching these goals are largely unavailable to people in the lower classes.

Following Williams' (1960) interpretation, Mizruchi views values as a group's conception of the desirable. He addresses essentially the same questions as did Hyman (1953) in his famous analysis of studies in social stratification and the value systems of different classes. These questions are: What is the distribution of success values among the social classes? To what extent do members of different classes hold other values that aid or hinder them in their efforts to achieve success? To what extent do these members believe that opportunities for getting ahead are available to them? One of Mizruchi's findings is that education is more values as an end in itself in the middle class than in the lower strata. His contention is that the greater importance given to education as an end value by the middle classes provides them with greater opportunities for advancement.

Yet Mizruchi's (1964) data also show that "getting ahead in life" was more important to lower-class segments of the population he studied than to others (77 percent consider it very important). His data also showed a greater "degree of commitment" (Merton's phrase) on the part of the lower classes, as well as greater frequency of acceptance of success goals. Thus the importance of getting ahead was stressed, not only by most of Mizruchi's respondents, but most heavily in the lower classes. This finding supports the claim of Merton, Warner, Srole, Bell, and others that Americans share essentially similar life goals. What it fails to examine closely is whether these life goals are interpreted in the same way by respondents from the different classes. Mizruchi argues that there is a greater concentration of "material-economic" responses among lower-class respondents than would be expected by chance alone. Table 1 reveals that the ranking of choices is about the same, and that it is the highest class that values money most.

Table 1. Class and Most Important Symbol of Success as Selected by Respondent (in Percentages)[a]

	Class					Total	
	I	II	III	IV	V	Per-cent	N
Education	61	37	30	26	21	29	63
Many friends	0	10	17	5	3	7	16
Prestige	8	10	4	6	5	6	13
Job security	15	21	17	27	24	23	51
Home ownership	8	16	32	31	41	31	70
Money	8	6	0	5	6	4	10
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	223
N	(13)	(19)	(47)	(81)	(63)		

[a] Source: Mizruchi (1964) reprinted in Heller (1969).

Bronfenbrenner (1958) tries to explain the discrepancy between lower-class aspirations and their success at achieving them in terms of the socialization process:

> Perhaps [their] very desperation, enhanced by early exposure to impulse and aggression, leads working-class parents to pursue new goals with old techniques of discipline. While accepting middle-class levels of aspiration, he [sic] has not yet internalized sufficiently the modes of response which makes these standards readily available for himself or his children. He has still to learn to wait, to explain, and to give and withhold his affection as the reward and price of performance.

The group which has most often been the focus of attempts to study and to solve the problems attributed to a culture of poverty has been the American black population. Despite the many attempts to trace their situation to psychological (personality) factors, it has been argued that the smallness of the black middle class cannot be explained in terms of lack of ambition (Bloom _et al._, 1965). Studies have produced evidence that achievement values and educational aspirations of American blacks are high (comparable to those of Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, and higher than those of other ethnic groups, such as Italians) (Rosen, 1959). The high educational aspirations of blacks deserve special attention because, in reality, education proves to be less profitable for them than it does for whites. The same amount of education yields considerable less return in the form of occupational status or income to blacks than it does to whites (Edwards, 1959, 1966).

Many blacks are the victims of what Wiley (1967) has called the "mobility trap." This refers to the structural condition in which the means for moving up within the ethnic group are not compatible with those for moving up in the dominant social structure. For example, at least until very recently, social mobility among blacks was primarily determined by the needs of the black community itself, rather than by general conditions in the country. Thus black professionals served largely blacks, and black businessmen sold principally to blacks. Wiley has used the mataphor of climbing a tree instead of the usual mobility ladder. A person who has moved up within a given ethnic group may be visualized as on top of an isolated limb. If he wants to move up in the dominant structure (i.e., climb the trunk), he faces the problem of how to get off the limb. For black people this has been almost impossible; as it has for a number of other ethnic groups, e.g., American Indians and Spanish-speaking Americans.

The concept of a culture of poverty can be seen to embrace many notions, some of which are contradictory. The lists and descriptions cited combine items which have a pejorative overtone with those that seem admirable. Some writers see those in the culture of poverty as hopelessly disorganized and pathological. Others emphasize their survival strengths, on which can be built a more comfortable life. Riessman (1964) has written on the strengths of the poor but also notes considerable pathology. Lewis (1966b) adds to his appraisal of some of the adaptive mechanisms in the culture of poverty:

> The low aspiration level helps to reduce frustration, the legitimatization of short-range hedonism makes possible spontaneity and enjoyment. But, on the whole, it is a relatively thin culture. There is a great deal of pathos, suffering, and emptiness among those who live in the culture of poverty. It does not provide much support or long-range satisfaction, and its encouragement of mistrust tends to magnify helplessness and isolation. Indeed, the poverty of culture is one of the crucial aspects of the culture of poverty.

The contradictions remain. The poor are accused of being hedonistic, action-oriented, and negative toward work and education, on the one hand, and persevering, plodding, cautious, and conservative on the other hand. They are deemed gregarious, democratic, and cooperative among themselves at the same time they are accused of being authoritarian, uncooperative, and without social organization. They are said to be very present-oriented with little sense of the past, while at the same time very traditional. They are said to be language-impoverished but at the same time rich in verbal imagery. They are reported to have low motivation for success, but, as we have seen, several studies indicate otherwise.

The poor are said to grow up in an atmosphere of readily expressed impulse and aggression, yet many studies note the higher level of impulse gratification permitted middle-class children in the socialization process. "Though more tolerant of expressed impulse and desires, the middle-class parent . . . has higher expectations for the child" .

(Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Early independence training is said to be related to high achievement motivation and is considered a feature of middle-class socialization (Lipset and Bendix, 1962). By others it is reported to be characteristic of the lower class that their children are often neglected, hence "put on their own," from which they develop a peer culture that is far from dependent on adults (Riessman, 1962; Gans, 1962, 1969).

Polemics have been strong in defense or challenge of each of the positions outlined, and efforts have been made to reconcile them. Rodman (1963) created the concept of the "lower-class value stretch" in an attempt to resolve the apparent contradictions. His concept supposes a lower commitment of the lower classes to the general values of society and a wider range of specific values. In other words, the lower classes are said to accept and even to favor certain deviations from the more general values. Yet Sutherland's (1949) data on "white-collar crime" cast doubt on the validity of this position. All social strata seem to accept certain deviations from the norms, but these do not necessarily take the same form in the various classes.

There is an abundance of conclusions similar to those presented here, which suggest the existence of a true subculture that crosses national and ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless, empirical studies have also shown that the poor often accept the idealogies and value systems of the more affluent, especially in a country like the United States, where certain goals are held out for all. Even Lewis (1966b) admits that

> People with a culture of poverty are aware of middle-class values, talk about them and even claim some of them as their own, but on the whole, they do not live by them.

It is likely that the circumstances of their life make it difficult for this group to know and understand the "correct" routes to "success," but that they desire this as a goal has been convincingly demonstrated. Valentine may well be quite justified in denying that the existence of a special culture of poverty has been satisfactorily proven. One of the principles of a culture is the desire to transmit it to the next generation, but Gans (1969) points out that this is a major difference between lower-class and other subcultures.

> Lower-class women seem to be able to achieve some measure of stability within and through the family. Yet they are not content with the subculture nor with the female-based family, and they try to see that their children escape it.

People in other cultures by and large are satisfied with them and pass them on willingly to their children.

> Lower-class women may not often succeed in raising their children to reject the culture they live in, but they try, and that is a major difference between lower-class subcultures and all others.

Herein may lie the key to the whole controversy about whether the poor have a genuinely separate culture or are simply the victims of circumstances, which dictate their adaptive responses, in spite of the values they hold.

Some Possible Theoretical Explanations for a Culture of Poverty

If the "culture of poverty" does indeed exist, there ought to be a solid theoretical foundation for postulating such a phenomenon. This section will make a brief and sketchy survey of some of the possibilities for explaining this concept by theories of various schools of thought.

Recent efforts of sociologists to find the sources of motivation toward achievement in the cultural values of different groups have been paralleled by the work of psychologists who seek the sources of motivation to achieve in personality. The work of McClelland and his associates (1953, 1961) is especially well known in this area and is an example of the linkage of social-psychological and sociocultural levels through personality previously described. By the use of projective and content analysis techniques, they have attempted to analyze the strength of a "need for achievement." Fictional and fantasy materials are scored for this purpose. McClelland has put forth the view that individual need for achievement is linked with national economic development through early independence training in the socialization process. He thus makes a national sociocultural process essentially a social-psychological matter. In other words, national development occurs in the presence of sufficiently shared individual values related to achievement. This is reminiscent of the idea of modal personality discussed earlier. The concept is diagrammed in Figure 1.

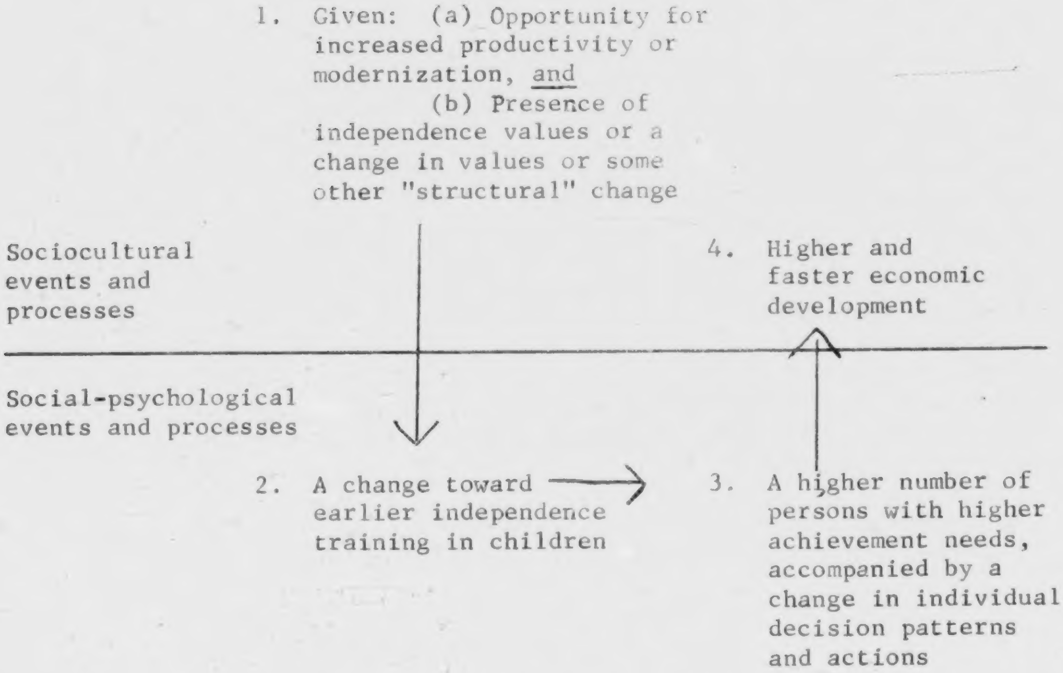
1. Given: (a) Opportunity for increased productivity or modernization, and
(b) Presence of independence values or a change in values or some other "structural" change
Sociocultural events and processes
4. Higher and faster economic development
Social-psychological events and processes
2. A change toward earlier independence training in children
3. A higher number of persons with higher achievement needs, accompanied by a change in individual decision patterns and actions

Figure 1. McClelland's Idea of the Relationship between Sociocultural and Social-Psychological Processes

Source: Lambert and Lambert (1964).

This kind of theoretical model leans heavily on both psychoanalytic theories concerning child-rearing practices and on role models arising out of role theory.

The relations between motivation for achievement deriving from personality structure and motivation deriving directly from social structure remain to be investigated, but these recent explorations in psychology constitute a promising line of research to supplement the sociological analysis of the relation of mobility to structural factors such as class or ethnic background. Such studies may enable us to specify how different positions in the social structure may affect family behavior and child-rearing practices in particular.

The linking of sociocultural systems with social-psychological ones has also been attempted through the study of expressive models, which include such things as games, folklore, and personal styles (Roberts and Sutton-Smith, 1962). These efforts are most relevant to the study of the culture of poverty, since many of the traits associated with this subculture are precisely in the nature of expressive styles and of the value orientations toward major life processes that are reflected by them.

For example, one of the attributes of personalities in the culture of poverty is said to be "physicalism," with a strong emphasis on competitive physical games and physical action. According to Roberts and Sutton-Smith's theory, these are preferred where achievement pressures are high (Lambert and Lambert, 1964). This raises another question, since low achievement need is also attributed to the culture of poverty, although, as we have seen, some studies have refuted this claim. Addiction to games of chance is also commonly associated with the culture of poverty ("numbers" games, football,pools, cards, and dice). But Roberts and Sutton-Smith relate games of chance to responsibility training, and the poor are rarely credited with that quality. It could, perhaps, be argued that this theory holds these game models to be socialization devices, and that some individuals and groups remain fixated at early learning stages, never resolving the conflicts with which these mechanisms are supposed to deal. Adult emphasis on games may also be a device for lessening anxiety created by conflict over achievement behavior.

Gestalt psychology contributes to an interpretation of the patterned behavior conceived to represent the culture of poverty.

> The meaning of the behavior of an individual will be very much influenced by his perceived social role and by the perceived social context or frame of reference in which it occurs (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965).

Although the literature relating to the influence of social class on perception is very sparse, it is established that the life of the poor is uncertain, insecure, and fraught with dangers, as data on life chances reveal. There is little to wonder at, then, if the members of this group perceive the world as hostile and themselves as powerless, and seek excitement to break the grinding dullness of poverty. They have organized their perceptions to make the best fit with reality as they experience it. Cynthia Deutsch et al. (1968) specify this process:

> Life conditions--including current situation, past experience, cultural and socioeconomic factors . . . influence perceptual processes through their influence on the amount and variety of stimuli to which an individual is exposed, and through influencing the nature and amount of practice an individual gets in learning to discriminate stimuli from each other.

As experimental work has shown, "cultural and group factors establish scales of reference that help to determine the relative attractiveness of different points along the continuum of difficulty" (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965). The person in a culture of poverty lives with failure daily, and a sense of failure tends to become self-perpetuating. Field theorists have pointed out that people are not likely to attempt to achieve even highly values objectives when they see no way of attaining them (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965).

Reinforcement theory is also applicable for explanatory purposes in understanding the possibility of a culture of poverty. This is clear in the terminology used by Lewis, Gans, and others, who argue that the cultural behavior of the poor is a stimulus-response process. Inasmuch as the bulk of social behavior is learned, it is apparent that exposure to a given learning environment will help perpetuate the cultural patterns of that environment. The concepts of instrumental conditioning, especially as they deal with escape and avoidance behavior (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970), seem relevant also to the notion of a culture of poverty. The role of imitation in the acquisition of behavior applies to deviant as well as conforming behavior, as Bandura and Walters have demonstrated (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965).

Cognitive theory is relevant, since there has been much discussion of the "cognitive style" of those in the culture of poverty. They are said to have distinctive ways of learning and of conceptualizing, as noted previously.

It would be expected that if the situation of the poor is as unsatisfying as most observers maintain, there would be a tremendous amount of frustration engendered. Not surprisingly, then, we find aggression mentioned in all the descriptions of the personality and culture of the deprived. Freudian theory sheds much light on these and other projective processes associated with the culture of poverty.

Maternal deprivation and early childhood traumas of the poor can probably best be analyzed within a Freudian framework, but this should be done with the caution that much behavior must be understood in reference to the cultural context in which it is expressed rather than through the judgment of another cultural pattern, say, the middle-class one. This produces a rather circular argument, to be sure, but that is the nature of the relationship between culture and personality. It is from some of the neo-Freudians rather than from classical Freudian theory that much useful interpretation can be derived. Fromm, for example, reminds us that "Man's nature, his passions, and anxieties are a cultural product" (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965).

The lack of a strong ego structure is also one of the traits often noted among the impoverished. Study of the ego defenses and of the processes which help build strong ego functioning will clearly be important to a fuller understanding of the personality that is modal to a culture of poverty. "Ego defenses can distort both internal and external reality" (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970). While it is not entirely clear that the ego defenses of the very poor actually distort their reality, it has often been observed that some of the defensive structures built up by those in the presumed culture of poverty prevent their taking advantage of changing opportunities even when they do occur in the larger social system (Lewis, 1966a; Gans, 1962).

Perhaps the richest theoretical source for comprehending the culture of poverty, at least in a direct sense, is role theory. There can be little doubt that members of the culture of poverty are constantly enacting roles ascribed to them by their society. This is an example of one of the ways in which social-psychological processes are linked with those at the sociocultural level, as observed earlier. It is clear that much of the way of life that develops in a situation of poverty is closely connected with the attitudes and behavior of others in the society toward the poor.

One of the most promising efforts to bridge the gap between psychological and sociological research may be found in reference-group theory, as it has been systematized by Robert Merton and Alice Rossi (Merton, 1957). Goffman's (1963) concept of "spoiled identify" also seems to have considerable value for understanding the role behaviors and personality dynamics of those in the supposed culture of poverty.

As yet no overall sociological or psychological theory has been formulated to explain the connection between ethnicity and class in general. An ethnic group is defined as any group of people denoted or singled out because of race, religion, national origin, or a combination of these (Heller, 1969). Gordon (1964) has developed a useful concept, which, though rather awkward, lends clarity to the confusion. He has coined the term "ethclass" to refer to a sub-society created by the intersection of ethnic group and social class. Since so many of the American poor are also members of minority groups, it is helpful to make this distinction. By specifying that the ethclass is a sub-society, Gordon indicates that it is a "functioning unit which has an integrated impact on the participating individual." With a person of the same social class but of a different ethnic group, Gordon says, "one shares behavioral similarities but not a sense of peoplehood." With those of the same ethnic group but of a different social class, one shares the sense of peoplehood but not behavioral similarities. The only kind of group which constitutes an ethclass would be one meeting both criteria: people of the same ethnic group and the same social class.

These comments represent only brief excerpts from various theoretical frameworks which have the potential for explaining aspects of the culture of poverty, if such a phenomenon really does exist. At least, the formulations of the hypothesized culture of poverty are not inconsistent with a large body of diverse theoretical orientations. This is one of the most persuasive arguments for such a construct. Given the life situation of the socially and economically disadvantaged, it would be almost remarkable if they did not develop distinctive cultural patterns, in the light of some of the theoretical propositions presented.

Nevertheless, the issues are unresolved empirically, so for heuristic purposes the VOT has been used in attempts to identify and measure certain values that have been attributed to the poor in the debate about the culture of poverty. Precedents for the use of projective techniques in such an enterprise will be reviewed in the next section.

The Use of Projective Techniques in the Social Sciences

In a projective technique the subject is given a relatively unstructured task that permits wide latitude in its solution. The assumption is that the individual will project his characteristic modes of response into the task performance. As a form of personality test, projective instruments are usually designed to measure such characteristics as emotional adjustment, interpersonal relations, motivations, interests, and attitudes (Anastasi, 1968).

The choice of a projective technique for the Value Orientation Test was made in the interest of (1) tapping value patterns that might be either implicit or repressed (that is, not fully articulated) and (2) reducing the differential handicaps of subcultural groups with disparate verbal skills. The appropriateness of projective techniques for measuring values has been well recognized. The sociologist Robin M. Williams, Jr. (1968) states:

> For values that are concealed by conformity to social conventions and taboos, as well as for those camouflaged by defenses arising from repressions, recourse must be had to indirect approaches through projective testing.

Such psychodynamic analysis is also a technique for demonstrating the effects of cultural pressures on human beings (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951).

Although the use of projective tests has been traditionally associated with the clinical practice of "depth" psychology in the Freudian sense, some forms of projective testing have had wide use for other applied purposes, as well as in a variety of research. With the elaboration of ego theory and the development of a school focused on "ego psychology,"[6] more practical use of such tests in non-clinical settings has been possible.

During the latter part of the 19th century, the psychometric tradition led to the development of a series of instruments that permitted the standardized measurement of intelligence, social attitudes, aptitudes, and other dimensions of behavior. Related to these efforts was the creation of "objective" personality measures which typically took the form of inventories, questionnaires, or rating scales. These instruments were characterized by an emphasis on careful quantification, repeatability, efficiency, and exact specification. In contrast, many subsequent clinical instruments were less concerned with precise measurement, although their defenders maintained that they dealt with more significant areas of behavior. Since the 1930's there have been important steps toward integrating these two traditions, despite some theoretical and procedural questions that still separate them (Lindzey, 1961).

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[6] Ego analysis concentrates on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the ego and is less concerned with deeply repressed processes in the id (Chaplin, 1968).

What are now known as projective tests were the result of a synthesis of academic association-psychology of the late 19th century with Freudian psychoanalytic theory (Lindzey, 1961). Confusion over the theoretical rationale for projective techniques has probably led to unnecessary skepticism and limitation of their employment in non-clinical settings. It is useful to clarify this issue to justify adoption of these methods for other purposes.

The term projective technique was popularized by an influential paper published in 1939 by L. K. Frank. He suggested that projective methods are attempts to answer

> the problem of how we can reveal the way an individual personality organizes experience, in order to disclose or at least gain insight into the individual's private world of meanings, significances, patterns, and feelings.

Frank indicated that these methods could assess covert aspects of personality by obtaining from the subject

> what he cannot or will not say, frequently because he does not know himself and is not aware of what he is revealing about himself through his projections.

It is clear from Frank's article that he did not have in mind the classical Freudian meaning of "projection" as a defense mechanism of psychoneurotics. Rather, he implies the spatial sense of extending outward, simply to refer to the general tendency of an individual to reveal significant portions of his own personality when he is freely structuring objects in the outer world (Lindzey, 1961).

Careful reading of Freud shows that he also conceived of projection as a mechanism important in normal as well as in pathological development. He was aware that it could play a major role in the creative process, that in the act of constructing a story or a painting, the artist unwittingly would strive for some expression of unconscious impulses that were denied expresssion in his everyday existence (Freud, 1927). It is this latter meaning of the term that Frank had in mind in dubbing certain personality measurement devices "projective techniques."

Called by Lindzey "generalized projection" (as opposed to the defensive "classical projection"), this concept refers to a normal process whereby the individual's inner states, memories, or qualities influence his perception and interpretation of the contemporary outer world.

> We are compelled to assume that all present perception is influenced by past perception, and that, indeed, the nature of the perceptions and their interaction with each other constitutes the field of the psychology of personality (Bellak, 1954).

It has pointed out that projective techniques do not reflect merely, or perhaps even mostly, overt aspects of personality (Lindzey, 1961). This is especially true of an instrument like the VOT, in which a specific task has been assigned (to tell a structured story to a picture) which requires strong use of ego (cognitive, management) functions as well as the free play of fantasy. It is for this reason that instruments of this sort are found to be particularly appropriate in assessing characteristics important in making decisions about training, employability, and vocational choice.

Lindzey (1961) has mentioned another feature of this type of test that makes it useful under many different kinds of circumstances. Since storytelling is almost a universal kind of human behavior, the responses requested by the examiner may appear relatively understandable and familiar even in quite diverse settings.

These are the assumptions underlying projective instruments such as the VOT and the TAT. While the TAT has been used as part of a personnel selection process, it seems to be most appropriate for high-level administrative staff (Sen, 1953). It seems quite unsuitable for low-income groups who have had very different life experiences from those depicted in many of the TAT drawings. The TAT pictures also tend to be considerably more abstract than those used in the VOT, a severe handicap if there is any substance to the hypotheses about the life-style of the poor. In short, the Thematic Apperception Test was not designed to measure the value systems that the Value Orientation Test is meant to investigate. Pictures used in the VOT were designed to represent situations commonly faced in the lives of the poor. The value orientation they purport to measure were chosen from those hypothesized to be typically found in the "culture of poverty." An entirely new and different scoring system has been developed for the VOT.

Many adaptations of the principles of a picture projective test have been made for a variety of purposes, in applied as well as research fields. In education, the earliest reported use of such measures was made in England in 1886 (Bryant).

The work of McClelland and his associates (1949) in trying to measure the "achievement motive" by means of a version of the TAT is well known, and his procedures have been extensively used in business and management training, as well as in work with administrative personnel in developing nations. Other modifications of the TAT for business-industrial psychology and for use in vocational guidance are discussed in articles by Brower and Weider (1950), Ammons *et al.* (1950), and Wittenborn (1949).

The British Civil Service Selection Board has experimented with an adaptation of the TAT in its screening procedures for administrative-level personnel. It was found by Sen (1953) to produce results "superior to those hitherto published for similar assessments of Civil Service candidates" (Vernon, 1950; Wilson, 1948).

Certain features of a TAT-style test that are sometimes cited as academic defects may also be viewed as strengths for purposes of this and similar studies.

> The TAT has the opposite weakness [from the high generality of Rorschach findings], the stimuli corresponding so closely to actual social situations that they rarely provoke more than an expression of current motivations and value judgments (Nadel, 1955).

Inasmuch as the VOT is not intended for deep personality diagnosis, but rather for practical use as an aid in determining motivations and value orientations that will affect "real-life" training and work prospects, this feature can be considered an asset for the present study.

Another aspect of the TAT-form test makes it adaptable to our purposes. It is generally considered that the TAT best serves to describe the content of personality rather than its structure, permitting inferences about the nature of particular conflicts and dispositions.

> The multiform data elicited by the TAT makes it possible to employ the test to assess virtually any variable in which the investigator may be interested (Lindzey, 1961).

The same qualities are characteristic of the VOT with respect to low-income populations.

Before some of the results and interpretations of VOT applications are presented, the procedures used in trying to develop the test for practical use are explained in the following section.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The Value Orientation Test is based on a set of 11 pictures designed especially for this project. Subjects are asked to tell a story about each picture, structuring their story around six questions:

1. Tell what is happening.
2. Tell what happened before.
3. Tell what is being thought or wanted.
4. Tell what will happen.
5. Tell what you think this person(s) ought to do.
6. Tell what you think most of the people in this community would say this person(s) ought to do.

Project Design

The test had been constructed and administered in 1967 to several sample populations. Pictures had been designed and the questions prepared around which subjects were to structure their stories. These were given in an exploratory context: there was no scoring or interpretative system yet.

The tasks around which the present project was designed include the following:

1. Exploration of contributing theoretical backgrounds.
2. Standardizing test administrative procedures.
3. Development of a scoring system.
4. Establishment of appropriate norms.
5. Efforts to establish inter-scorer reliability.
6. Efforts to demonstrate criterion-related validity.
7. Preparation of a manual on the use, administration, scoring and interpretation of the test.
8. Examination of some of the findings revealed by various groups to whom the test had been administered.

This last step was designed to test the general hypothesis that the VOT protocols would produce evidence to permit more careful evaluation of certain value orientations that had been delineated by the culture of poverty thesis.

A fuller description of the VOT and the steps in its development is appropriate at this point.

Content of the VOT Pictures

The pictures (Appendix A) were designed to tap certain value orientations common to the hypothesized culture of poverty syndrome. Other responses may, of course, be elicited in addition to, or in place of these. A description of the variables anticipated to be presented by each of the pictures, or commonly found in protocols already obtained, follows.

Picture A: This picture attempts to tap several variables: the work ethnic and achievement motive; desire for upward social mobility; attitudes toward higher education; class hostility and estrangement; slyness and cunning; and racial resentments are among those most frequently expressed.

Picture B: Recent data suggest that a relatively high proportion of the homes of the poor are characterized by instability. Physical abuse is common. Permanent male figures may be rare. Yet the leadership of American society is male dominated. This picture attempts to probe the respondent's perception of male-female relationships and his/her values about them.

Picture C: This sketch is designed to measure normlessness (in the sense of unethical behavior), powerlessness, and self-estrangement. It may also reflect anomie (in the sense of personal demoralization, utter helplessness, and discouragement).

Picture D: Welfare services and other forms of governmental aid are part of the daily life of the poor. This sketch was designed to measure respondents' attitudes toward governmental or bureaucratic activities. It may elicit responses pertinent to helplessness, isolation, and resentment.

Picture E: Resignation, fatalism, and estrangement from society are often seen in this picture. Alcoholism frequently appears as a response. Attitudes toward work may be elicited.

Picture F: The instability of the living arrangements of the poor has often been noted. This sketch may reveal attitudes toward geographical mobility. Insecurity and the uncertain quality of life are also reflected: eviction or the repossession of furniture are frequent responses. Attitudes toward payment of bills or toward saving and planning may be expressed, as well as a desire for upward mobility in the form of better housing or a nicer neighborhood. Other responses may indicate hostility toward landlords or merchants, and resignation or despair may be shown.

Picture G: Tendencies toward immediate or deferred gratification are attempted to be probed by this sketch. Attitudes toward work and toward relations between the sexes are also frequently expressed in responses.

Picture H: This picture is intended to evoke reactions to authority figures. Autonomy or submissiveness are commonly shown. Anger, resistance, and suspicion toward "establishment" representatives often appear. Moralism may be expressed.

Picture I: The valuing of education as a developmental process and as a means to upward mobility is intended to be probed by this sketch. Other relevant responses are deferred vs. immediate gratification and attitudes toward authority figures.

Picture J: This picture was dropped from the series as being unproductive.

Picture K: This picture was designed to measure alienation: "It's foolish to bring children into this cruel world," for example. In addition, it often exposes feelings about relations between the sexes and beliefs about child-rearing practices ("She'll spoil him by holding him," e.g.).

Picture L: The desire for acquisition of goods and services and a need for credit are common responses to this picture, which seeks to elicit acquisitive tendencies. Attitudes toward the business community are frequently expressed as a form of alienation. Rejection and discouragement, a sense of powerlessness and dependency are also tapped. Attitudes toward work may be reflected.

Compared to a test like the TAT and other projective instruments, the pictures of the VOT may seem relatively specific in content. That they are sufficiently ambiguous to arouse fantasies and elicit projections is shown by the variety of interprtations given individual pictures. Examples of these follow:

Picture	Interpretations
A	Building construction site
	Prison or road gang
	Exploitation of Black man
	Worker goofing off when Foreman's back is turned
B	Fighting
	Dancing
	Hugging
	Greeting
	Attempted rape

Picture	Interpretations
C	Suicide
	Murder
	Revenge
	Thinking things over (gun ignored)
D	Welfare office
	Prison
	Employment office
	Hospital
	Bank
	School
	Discussing a bill at store
	Reporting missing husband
F	Moving (voluntary)
	Eviction
	Reclaiming furniture
G	Workman and bar
	Recreation center
	Mowing lawn
	Woman waiting for husband to come out of bar
	Prostitute seducing worker
H	Policeman about to arrest criminals
	Policeman greeting old friends
	Men planning mischief
	Men talking innocently
	Dope pushers
	Men trying to rob a sailor
	Men getting out of (or into) jail
I	Boy studying, father encouraging
	Boy studying, father discouraging
	Hospital: men waiting for babies to be born
	Two students
	Men taking a break from work
	Man reading Bible to someone in trouble
K	Mother with child
	Grandmother with daughter's child
	Father with child
	Unwanted child
	Loved child
L	Man seeking credit at store
	Man seeking job
	Men discussing boxing match
	Men arguing, about to fight
	Storekeeper telling a fish story
	Man asking directions to a bank

(Note: pictures E and J were not included in this series.)

In addition to these widely varying interpretations of the stimuli, further evidence for the ambiguity of the pictures comes from the fact that subjects frequently reacted by asking questions for clarification of the stimuli. Hence, it appears that the VOT pictures serve well the purposes of a projective instrument, while at the same time depicting scenes familiar to low-income subjects.

The Scoring System

Scoring is centered on the identification of 15 value orientations drawn from culture of poverty foci: Affiliation, Social Estrangement, Acquisition, Success-Status, Cognition, Stimulation, Discipline, Hedonism, Autonomy, Deference, Trust, Distrust, Insecurity-Defeat, Race-Ethnicity, and Morality. Each of these orientations has been subdivided into a varying number of response categories, which are items of behavioral and attitudinal responses actually scored from stories told by subjects. The story for each picture (A,B,C, . . . L) is scored separately, the scores reflecting whichever of the value orientation responses are present in that story.

In addition, there are six attributes derived from the entire protocol: Imagination, Verbal Facility, Coherence, Uncertainty, Superficiality, and Unusual Perception. These refer to the overall quality of the protocol as indicated by all the stories. While these are not usually considered "values," the position adopted here is that such attributes reflect value systems, and they are relevant to the work-related purposes of the test. Imagination is reflected in the construction of creative, vivid stories. Verbal facility reveals fluency in the use of language (not necessarily "perfect English"). Coherence refers to the degree to which stories "hang together," show some logical development and continuity. Uncertainty is revealed by many who included "perhaps" or "maybe," indicators that the subject can't make sense out of the stimuli or the presence of alternative situations and outcomes, suggesting the subject cannot make up his mind. Superficiality denotes lack of genuine effort to respond to the task, very perfunctory remarks, incomplete stories, and other indicators of weak attention. Unusual perception scores marked deviation from "normal" interpretations. For example, one female subject saw fire in all the pictures, although none suggests this to the typical respondent tested.

Definitions of the response categories were evolved through a combination of three sources: (1) search of relevant literature on values and on testing, (2) preliminary surveys of protocols already collected, and (3) discussion and consensus of three individuals working on developing the test. Here is an example--the response definitions for the value orientation Cognition:

[V. COGNITION]

Uses rationality, intelligence, thought, discussion, planning. Values reason, reasonableness.

1. Thinks, reflects, analyzes: Thinks about problem, situation. Wonders how to go about something. Reconsiders (thinks things over). Thinks about how to get ahead, etc. Tries to figure out elements, factors, cause of difficulties. Examines situation carefully. Considers alternatives. Weighs choices.

2. Discusses, negotiates, talks over: Thinks things should be talked over. Wants to reason with others. Is willing to negotiate, compromise. Discusses a problem.

3. Problem-solves, plans, investigates: Plans or takes actual steps to solve problem in constructive way. Actually does, or plans to do, something that will change situation for the better. Plans, prepares for the future. Tries to get more information, sources of help, new ideas for handling situation. Seeks advice, suggestions, professional consultation.

(See Definitions of Value Orientations and Responses in Manual, Appendix A, for complete set of responses defined.)

The next step in developing the scoring system was to rank-order the response categories within their respective value orientations in such a way that a weighted score could be assigned to each category. These weighted scores would then comprise the total score for each value orientation. No attempt was made to rank-order the value orientations.

In order to establish a valid rank-ordering of these responses by consensus, they were sorted by four raters. The definitions of the responses for each value orientation were given in random order to three professionally trained social workers to sort. These three individuals had not prior connection with the development of the test, and none was a psychologist or a tester. The fourth sort was done by the author.

The raters were given the following instructions:

> Enclosed are slips representing all the Responses to be scored in the Value Orientation Test. Within the Value Orientation category in which they are placed, they are in random order.
>
> You are asked to sort these into an ascending order of intensity; that is, place first the response you consider the weakest manifestation of this Value Orientation, and place last the one you consider the

> strongest. Those in between should follow the rank order, 1, 2, 3, . . . n. An example would be: Mildly dislikes (first) . . . Hates with a passion (last).
>
> You are to make these arrangements based on your most thoughtful judgment, taking into consideration all the implications of these responses for intensity of behavioral expression.
>
> Tape the strips on the blank sheets of paper in the order you consider most meaningful. These responses will be weighted according to the consensus in the final scoring.

The raters were also given a general orientation to the test itself. On the assumption that intensity of behavioral responses can be specified with enough objectivity to produce substantial agreement among independent, educated raters and can thus be assigned a numerical value, it was hypothesized that there would be sufficient concurrence in the rankings to justify a weighted ordinal scale of responses for scoring purposes. Objectivity is defined as agreement among observers (Kerlinger, 1964). "Sufficient concurrence" was specified as the .01 level of significance in a measure of association.

Kendall's coefficient of concordance W, a measure particularly useful in studies of interjudge reliability (Siegel, 1956), was used as the measure of relationship among the raters' rank-ordering of responses. This coefficient measures the extent of association among several (k) sets or rankings of N entities. By means of this measure the agreement among several judges or the association among three or more variables can be determined. This test provides a standard method of ordering entities according to consensus when no objective order of the entities is available (Siegel, 1956).

The critical regions associated with the .01 level of significance varied for the value orientations inasmuch as N (response categories) varied from seven to two. Table 2 presents the rankings of the four raters, the sums of the ranks assigned to each response entity (Rj), the mean of the Rj sums, and their deviations from the means. Table 3 presents the statistics used in the computation of W, the Kendall coefficient of concordance.[7] When the observed s was equal to or greater than that shown in this table for a particular level of significance (.01), H_0 was rejected at that level of significance.

Table 3 reveals that in ten of the 16 value orientations whose responses were ranked in order of intensity, the amount of agreement was significant at the .01 level. Two of these had correlations of 1.00.

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[7] See Appendix B for explanation of the computation of Kendall's coefficient of concordance W.

Table 2. Rankings of Responses by Four Raters, with Sums of Ranks, Rj, Means, and Deviations from Means

Value Orientation	Raters	Responses							Mean
		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
	1	1	2	3	4	5			
I.	2	5	1	4	2	3			
Affiliation	3	1	2	3	5	4			
	4	2	1	3	5	4			
Rj		9	6	13	16	16			12
Deviations from Mean		-3	-6	+1	+4	+4			
	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
II.	2	2	6	3	1	4	5	7	
Social	3	2	3	1	5	6	4	7	
Estrangement	4	2	4	1	3	6	5	7	
Rj		7	15	8	13	21	20	28	16
Deviations from Mean		-9	-1	-8	-3	+5	+4	+12	
	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
III.	2	1	2	6	5	4	3	7	
Success,	3	1	2	7	5	4	3	6	
Status	4	1	7	5	3	4	2	6	
Rj		4	13	21	17	17	14	26	16
Deviations from Mean		-12	-3	+5	+1	+1	-2	+10	
	1	1	2	3	4				
IV.	2	2	1	3	4				
Acquisition	3	2	1	3	4				
	4	1	2	3	4				
Rj		6	6	12	16				10
Deviations from Mean		-4	-4	+2	+6				
	1	1	2	3	4	5			
V.	2	1	2	3	4	5			
Cognition	3	2	3	1	4	5			
	4	2	3	5	4	1			
Rj		6	10	12	16	16			12
Deviations from Mean		-6	-2	0	+4	+4			

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Value Orientation	Raters	Responses							Mean
		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
	1	1	2	3					
VI.	2	1	3	2					
Stimulation	3	1	2	3					
	4	1	2	3					
Rj		4	9	11					8
Deviations from Mean		-4	+1	+3					
	1	1	2	3	4				
VII.	2	1	3	2	4				
Discipline	3	1	2	3	4				
	4	1	3	2	4				
Rj		4	10	10	16				10
Deviations from Mean		-6	0	0	+6				
	1	1	2	3					
VIII.	2	2	3	1					
Hedonism	3	1	3	2					
	4	1	2	3					
Rj		5	10	9					8
Deviations from Mean		-3	+2	+1					
	1	1	2						
IX.	2	1	2						
Luck	3	1	2						
	4	1	2						
Rj		4	8						6
Deviations from Mean		-2	+2						
	1	1	2	3	4	5			
X.	2	1	2	3	4	5			
Autonomy	3	3	4	5	1	2			
	4	2	1	3	4	5			
Rj		7	9	14	13	17			12
Deviations from Mean		-5	-3	+2	+1	+5			
	1	1	2	3	4				
XI.	2	1	2	4	3				
Deference	3	3	2	4	1				
	4	1	2	3	4				
Rj		6	8	14	12				10
Deviations from Mean		-4	-2	+4	+2				

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Value Orientation	Raters	Responses							Mean
		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
XII. Trust	1	1	2	3					
	2	1	2	3					
	3	1	2	3					
	4	1	2	3					
Rj		4	8	12					8
Deviations from Mean		-4	0	+4					
XIII. Distrust	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	3	1	3	2	4	5	6	7	
	4	1	2	4	3	5	7	6	
Rj		4	9	12	15	20	25	27	16
Deviations from Mean		-12	-7	-4	-1	+4	+9	+11	
XIV. Insecurity, Defeat	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	2	2	1	5	6	4	7	3	
	3	1	4	5	7	3	6	2	
	4	1	2	5	7	4	6	3	
Rj		5	9	18	24	16	25	15	16
Deviations from Mean		-11	-7	+2	+8	0	+9	-1	
XV. Race, Ethnicity	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	2	1	3	2	4	5	6		
	3	1	2	3	4	5	6		
	4	1	2	4	3	5	6		
Rj		4	9	12	15	20	24		14
Deviations from Mean		-10	-5	-2	+1	+6	+10		
XVI. Moralism	1	1	2	3	4				
	2	1	4	2	3				
	3	1	2	3	4				
	4	1	2	4	3				
Rj		4	10	12	14				10
Deviations		-6	0	+2	+4				

Table 3. Calculation of Kendall Coefficient of Concordance, W

Value Orientation	s	N	N^3	W	Significance Level
I. Affiliation	78	5	125	.49	Not signif.
II. Social Estrangement	340	7	343	.76	Sig. at .01
III. Success, Status	284	7	343	.63	Sig. at .01
IV. Acquisition	72	4	64	.90	Sig. at .01
V. Cognition	72	5	125	.45	Not signif.
VI. Stimulation	26	3	27	.81	[a]
VII. Discipline	72	4	64	.90	Sig. at .01
VIII. Hedonism	14	3	27	.44	[a]
IX. Luck	8	2	8	1.00	Full agree.
X. Autonomy	64	5	125	.40	Not signif.
XI. Deference	40	4	64	.50	Not signif.
XII. Trust	32	3	27	1.00	Full agree.
XIII. Distrust	428	7	343	.96	Sig. at .01
XIV. Insecurity, Defeat	320	7	343	.71	Sig. at .01
XV. Race, Ethnicity	266	6	216	.95	Sig. at .01
XVI. Moralism	56	4	64	.70	Sig. at .05

$$W = \frac{s}{\frac{1}{12} k^2 \quad (N^3 - N)}$$

s = sum of squares of deviations from mean.

k = 4 = number of sets of rankings.

N = number of response entities ranked.

---

[a] Table does not give value for N of 3.

One category, Moralism, was significant at the .05 level. Five categories--Affiliation, Cognition, Hedonism, Autonomy, and Deference--were not significantly related at either level. The average overall correlation was .73. Of those categories that were significant at the .01 level, average correlation was .86. The highest coefficient was 1.00, and the lowest was .40.

Interpretation

A high or significant value of W may be interpreted as meaning that the judges are applying essentially the same criteria in ranking the N objects under study. Their pooled ordering may serve as a "standard," especially when there is no relevant external criterion for ordering the objects (Siegel, 1956). It should be noted, however, that a high or significant value of W does not necessarily signify that the rank-orders produced are "correct." A variety of judges may agree because all use the "wrong" criteria. "Objective" and "consensual" orderings are not automatically synonymous (Siegel, 1956). Nevertheless, "to the extent that the ratings correlate highly . . . [the researcher] has achieved objectivity" (Kerlinger, 1964). For the purposes of developing a projective instrument intended for lay use, the criterion of consensus of judgment on the part of raters who are trained to work with behavioral manifestations seems appropriate.

The correlations obtained in this study appear reasonable in the light of degrees of correlation reported in other literature related to projective tests. In Friedman's (1957) work on the TAT, correlations ranged from .37 to .88, with mean correlation of .72. These correlations are said by Friedman to compare favorably with other reported studies. Combs (1946) found 50 to 60 percent agreement among external analysts and 63 to 68 percent agreement of an analyst with himself. Pine's (1960) raters (of stories) agreed 69 percent of the time, which he considers adequate. In an attempt to cross-validate objective TAT scoring, Dana (1966b)computed scorer reliability on items composing categories, using two scorers. Overall reliability for three scoring categories was .89. This figure was higher than those reported in his original study (Dana, 1955), a fact which he attributes partly to practice in scoring obtained by both scorers, and partly to formalization of scoring criteria.

On the basis of the present findings, the null hypothesis that raters were ranking independently was rejected. It was concluded that response categories could be rank-ordered for scoring purposes, based on consensual validity. Numerals were then assigned to each of the responses in the value orientations, giving them a weight from 1 to N. These are ordinal numbers indicating rank order values only. Even though it cannot be assumed that the underlying properties they represent are equally spaced (Kerlinger, 1964), the scoring system treats them as though they were, the numbers having been arbitrarily assigned, on the basis of rankings, as weighted scores.

Studies with more objective types of data or more objective scoring methods often produce a higher degree of reliability, but it is widely believed that they also sacrifice clinical, holistic content (Friedman, 1957). The concern in projective tesing is to retain the holistic qualities while maintaining an acceptable degree of reliability. A number of investigators working with projective tests have found that interrater reliability is greatly improved when (1) raters are permitted to defend their choices and (2) differences can be resolved by consensus (Pine, 1960; Combs, 1946; Dana, 1956a). Pine, for example, states:

> Ratings were carried out after an extensive period of rating practice by the two raters working together. However, once begun, the ratings were carried out without further checking or discussion. Final ratings were achieved by discussion of discrepancies between raters.

The raters in the present study had no rating practice in working together, unlike raters in many of the above cited studies. Several of the five response categories that were not significantly related are considered important for the ability of the VOT to measure behavioral tendencies directly relevant to training and work success. Therefore, the four raters met to discuss their interpretations of these responses, to attempt to identify the conceptual problems, and to establish consensus on these categories if possible.

One of the problems revealed in the discussion was the weakness of the instructions given to raters. The criterion for "intensity" of behavioral expression was not adequately specified. Each rater was in effect obliged to establish his own criteria and frame of reference. As an example, some raters were in fact using "extensity" as the standard for certain orientations, a sense that was actually more appropriate in particular instances (e.g., in Affiliation). Through discussion, consensus among the four raters was achieved, and the items were ranked according to this agreement. Two value orientations (Deference and Luck) were combined.

Kendall (1948) suggests that the best estimate of the "true" ranking of N objects is provided, when W is significant, by the order of the various sums of ranks, Rj. This is based on the assumption of accepting the criterion which the judges have agreed upon as evidenced by the magnitude and significance of W in ranking the N entities. The "best estimate" is associated with least squares (Siegel, 1956). This procedure was used to rank-order the responses in the value orientations which had yielded significant associations. The final ordering of responses for each of the 15 categories is shown on the scoring sheet in Appendix A.

The responses having been rank-ordered, it was now possible to proceed with scoring the protocols. Three scorers did three lots of 15 protocols each, and checks were made after each batch for interscorer reliability. It is widely recognized that all available personality tests present serious difficulties, both practical and theoretical (Anastasi, 1968; Kerlinger, 1964). Problems of validity and reliability are acute.

Reliability

According to Lindzey (1961) a number of scoring systems that have been developed for the TAT show relatively satisfactory rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability coefficients ranging from .55 to .89 seem to be considered quite acceptable, although some investigators report substantially lower ones (Lindzey and Herman, 1955; Friedman, 1957; Dana, 1956b; Dana, 1959; Pine, 1960; Stone, 1956).[8] Sen (1953), however, maintains that, judging from "more careful studies reported in the literature," the reliability of projective tests of personality, "seldom reaches a figure of .40."

Two kinds of reliability could have been explored for the VOT. Interscorer reliability--the amount of agreement among scorers--is the only kind attempted in this study. Retest reliability, or the consistency of scores obtained by the same individuals when re-examined with the same test on different occasions, was not investigated because of the small number of retests available. (A total of 70 original tests were administered to New Careers trainees, but only 14 retests were obtained after 90 days because of turnover, absenteeism, and new admissions.) Attempts to establish interscorer reliability were handicapped by the use of three outside scorers who worked independently and with a minimum of training or orientation. Since it was difficult for the three to spend much time together, they used the manual as a guide, but had very little joint practice. The highest inter-scorer reliability coefficient achieved was .63 for two scorers. While a higher coefficient is always desirable, this figure compares reasonably well with that of some well known studies. Indeed, according to Franzblau, "reliable coefficients of correlation ranging from about .60 to .80 may be regarded as indicating a marked degree of correlation" (Franzblau, 1958). Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, in their famous study, The People's Choice, report that

> two independent appraisals of the same subjects by the same interviewer but spaced three weeks apart, have a correlation of .80. When the same subjects are observed by two different interviewers, the correlation goes down to .6 or .7 (Riley, 1963).

Validity

Several kinds of criteria have been used to establish validity of the Thematic Apperception Test, the instrument most similar to the VOT. Probably the most common is clinical diagnosis. In studies in which the objective is to establish usefulness for predicting performance in various fields of activity, test results have been correlated with scores of those already functioning successfully in the field or with subsequent evaluations of candidates' performance on the job. In Sen's study (1953), for example, criteria used were: marks allotted by the final selection board after a three-day examination and gradings provided by later follow-up forms. Correlations with reports on successful candidates' efficiency, submitted a year or so after their appointment, indicated that "several of the more specific traits could be assessed with a promising degree of accuracy."

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[8] These references also deal with validity of the TAT.

Although several types of validation are possible for this test, a demonstration of criterion-related validity (American Psychological Association, 1966) is deemed most crucial. (Kerlinger (1964) also terms this concurrent or predictive validity.) To do this, a sample of New Careers enrollees in the Raleigh program was selected. The VOT was administered to trainees in three groups.

> When we wish to determine whether an instrument, whatever its nature, is valid, we must obviously match the measurements which it produces against known and accepted criteria of the trait or quality concerned (Franzblau, 1958).

No such "known and accepted" criteria were available for New Careers trainees. In lieu of such established standards, the staff counselors of the program were asked to assess each trainee tested in their respective groups. A special rating sheet was prepared for this purpose in which responses being scored in the VOT protocols were translated into parallel terms on several dimensions of personality characteristics and behavior (Appendix C). No training on rating was given the counselors. Counselors' ratings were compared with scoring on the project's protocols from New Careers enrollees. Positive correlation can be said to constitute criterion-related validity.

> Because of the difficulties [in judges' ratings,] the correlation of a test . . . with the criteria which are set up would necessarily be in the 'moderate' or 'marked' range rather than in the 'high' or 'perfect' range; but, on the other hand, to get even a moderate correlation with criteria as abstract and ephemeral as those which we must rely on in the field of character and the like is in itself very difficult (Franzblau, 1958).

Correlating the VOT scores with the counselors' ratings of trainees was a problem because the two sets of scores were not measured on the same scale and, thus, were not directly comparable. The variables for the rating sheet had been translated into what were considered parallel concepts, partly in order to provide some evidence of construct validity as well as of criterion-related validity. These were rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (high) to 5 (low). The VOT scoring system, on the other hand, summates ranked variables, with weighted scores ranging from 1 to as high as 7 points and varying for each value orientation.

In order to reduce these disparate scores to common terms, the following procedure was used. The VOT weighted scores were dichotomized around the median of the sample for each cluster of variables; those above the median were denoted as "high," those below as "low." The counselor's ratings were dichotomized in the same way around the scale score's midpoint, 3. (See Appendix D for working form.) In botn cases, half the median points were placed in the high category, and half in the low category. The tallied scores were then cast into a contingency table in which the cells represented the four possibilities of agreement and disagreement: agree positively (both above the median); agree negatively (both below the median); disagree, positive with negative; and disagree, negative with positive. For each of the 25 variables, chi-square (two-tailed) was then computed. A contingency coefficient, C, was also computed to provide a measure of the degree of association represented by the chi-square relationship. The results of these procedures are shown in Table 4. It can be seen that 11 of the correlations were significant at the .001 level; two were significant at .01; one was significant at .02; two were significant at .05; and two were significant at .10. Seven were not significant beyond the .10 level.

The difficulties of using criteria of this sort have been widely noted. Kerlinger (1964) says,

> The single greatest difficulty of predictive validation is the criterion. Often criteria do not exist or their validity is doubtful. Obtaining possible criteria may even be difficult.

In the present case, the existence of staff counselors in the New Careers program seemed to provide the opportunity for creating tentatively valid criteria. On a calculated risk, the assumption was made that these staff workers would be well acquainted with the members of their groups and could accurately evaluate them along the dimensions set up to match the test. This assumption may have been unwarranted, as some of the rating scales were incomplete, or "Don't know" was checked. There is also evidence that the counselors were not accustomed to judging trainees on the attribute variables listed on the rating sheet. In fact, the New Careers staff members indicated that such a list was useful to them in suggesting new ways to evaluate the trainees.

In some instances the relationship between trainees and staff counselor would be likely to affect the perception of the latter. Subjects were consistently rated high on cooperation, for example, while the VOT tapped little evidence of cooperative spirit. Several factors could account for this discrepancy. First, it is in the interest of the trainee to "cooperate" with his staff counselor, who is, in effect, a supervisor. This relationship may not reflect the subject's customary behavior. Second, there was evidence of a "halo effect," a tendency to rate trainees positively on every attribute. Third, there is some evidence that the trainees, nearly all of whom were black, reacted negatively to the test administrator, who was white. This may have been reflected in their stories. Linton (1945) observes that even when responses are extinguished in particular situations, there is a tendency

Table 4. Relationship between VOT Scores and Counselor's Ratings as Shown by Chi-Square

Rating Sheet Variables	Scoring Form Variables	N	χ^2	C	Significance Level
Optimistic	Optimistic	44	13.2	.65	.001
Pessimistic	Pessimistic Suicide Cynical	44	13.2	.65	.001
Submissive	Respects authority Feels inferior Dependent Fatalistic	43	2.7	.07	.10
Dominant	Resists compulsion Fights for rights Dominating	44	25.2	.60	.001
Ambitious	Envies Seeks social status Values education Values work Seeks improvement Ambitious	44	11.6	.46	.001
Poorly Motivated	Neglects responsibility Wily Steals Fails Uncertain Superficial	43	.6	--	.50
Socially Active	Shares community's values Affiliated with others Positive view of family & sex Feels responsibility for community	44	8.3	.40	.01
Socially Isolated	Disagrees with story character Lacks norms Avoids involvement Disagrees with community Views sex hostilely	44	21.7	.57	.001
Friendly	Affiliated with others	44	.6	--	.50
Resentful	Shows anger, resentment	44	4.6	.30	.05
Sly, Cunning	Sly, cunning	44	39.1	.69	.001
Angry	Shows anger Quarrels	44	5.2	.33	.05

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Rating Sheet Variables	Scoring Form Variables	N	χ^2	C	Significance Level
Socially Secure	Optimistic Cooperative Affiliated with others	44	13.6	.49	.001
Socially Insecure	Powerless Uncertainty	44	5.9	.34	.02
Intense Worker	Intensifies	43	26.3	.62	.001
Plodding Worker	Endures, Plods	44	24.2	.59	.001
Worries	Discouraged Anxious	44	.7	--	.50
Bored by job	Seeks change	44	10.1	.44	.01
Interested in job	Analyzes Problem-solves Values work	43	.2	--	--
Quitting	Fatigues Discontinues, flees Suicides	44	1.5	--	.30
Violent	Attacks physically Kills Suicides	42	2.8	.06	.10
Seeks immediate gratification	Self-indulges Neglects work	42	0	0	--
Defers gratification	Self-controlled Plans	41	29.7	.65	.001
Cooperative	Cooperative	43	1.7	--	.20
Gets along with other ethnic groups	Identifies race Emulates Sees oppression Shows race pride, approval Hates, resents Conflictive	21[a]	11.7	.60	.001

df = 1.

[a] This variable was not listed on all the rating sheets. The relationship measured in this case was inverse.

for the value system to reassert itself in new situations. Finally, it is possible that the VOT is simply not sensitive to the variable "cooperative."

Other variables not found to be significantly related could be analyzed in a similar manner. An additional possible interpretation is that the item on the rating sheet was not properly matched with items on the scoring form. For example, the essence of "interested in job" on the rating sheet may not be adequately captured by the responses from the scoring form "analyzes, problem-solves, values work." These non-significant items expose areas in which the test needs to be sharpened or clarified. Some of them, like "poorly motivated," "interested in job," and "quitting," are sufficiently central to the purpose of the test to warrant further investigation.

On the whole, however, the correlations of the two evaluative instruments are satisfactory enough to demonstrate criterion-related validity. Average chi-square = 10.97, significant at .001 level. Eighteen of the 25 variables were related at a respectably high level of significance, satisfactory considering the notoriously great difficulty in establishing such correlations for projective tests.

Norms

Scores on any test can be interpreted only by reference to norms (Anastasi, 1968). Probably the most realistic approach to establishing norms is to standardize tests on narrowly defined populations, so chosen as to suit the specific purposes of each test. For many testing purposes, highly specific norms are desirable. When subjects are asked to write a story to an ambiguous picture in five minutes, it is to be expected that they will vary widely in the amount of material they produce. Such production depends on a number of factors, including imagination, motivation, and the amount of fantasy the subject is able to indulge. Verbal facility is another of these factors. Unlike some scoring systems, the VOT scoring does not look for "literary quality," as this would defeat its purpose, which is to test low-income populations primarily, and such a group is presumably handicapped in producing work of literary quality.

It has already been reported that protocols from several hundred subjects were collected through administration of the VOT to trainees and graduates in the pilot areas of the Concerted Services in Training and Education and to trainees in the New Careers program. To establish norms, the former group of protocols was sampled to select 24 from each of three ethnic groups: northern white farmers from Minnesota, Spanish-Americans from New Mexico, and American Indians from various locales. American blacks, represented by the New Careers tests, constituted a fourth ethnic group. All these groups were from impoverished populations usually considered part of the "culture of poverty." In addition, a sample of 12 middle-class, predominantly white graduate students was tested as a control group.

Although some of the samples used in this study may seem small, there is ample precedent in the literature for this practice. Kardiner, for example, says of his work on The Mark of Oppression:

> Twenty-five cases is a very small number from the standpoint of gathering vital or employment statistics, but it is a very large number from the standpoint of a psychodynamic analysis (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951).

It may also be recalled that Merton used only 30 cases to delineate his two categories of influentials, the cosmopolitans and the locals (Riley, 1963).

Murray (TAT Manual) gives as the "standard" 300 words per story and suggests that stories averaging less than 140 words in length are not worth scoring for the TAT. Such a norm is totally unrealistic for the disadvantaged populations with which we have been dealing. Table 5 shows the norms for story length for five low-income groups: black American Indians, Spanish-Americans, Minnesota whites (predominantly rural), and middle-class university students (predominantly white).

Table 5. Average Number of Words per Story for Five Groups

Group	N	Mean	Range
Black Americans	(40)	55.7	6-131
Indian Americans	(24)	60.3	10-160
Spanish-Americans	(24)	43.0	14-97
Minnesota Whites	(24)	26.7	2-103
Middle-Class Students	(12)	61.2	17-122

Range in Table 5 refers to the range of numbers of words per story among the respondents in that group. Subjects individually tended to cluster rather closely around their own mean. For one subject, for example, stories for the 11 pictures shown had the following number of words: 41, 39, 30, 29, 32, 29, 36, 30, 29, 33, 29, with a mean of 32.5 words per story.

The number of items checked on a scoring sheet reveals scorers' perceptions, as well as subjects' responses. Nevertheless, the norms for these, as found in preliminary administration of the VOT may be useful.

Table 6 shows the number of items checked on a sample of the protocols by value orientation (not the weighted scores).

Table 6. Mean Number of Items Checked by Scorers, by Value Orientation, for Black Americans

Value Orientation	Mean	Range
Affiliation	8.0	1-13
Social Estrangement	6.1	1-11
Success-Status	4.2	1-9
Acquisition	2.9	0-8
Cognition	2.1	0-5
Stimulation	.15	0-2
Discipline	1.2	0-4
Hedonism	1.5	0-3
Autonomy	.76	0-4
Deference	.85	0-4
Trust	2.5	0-12
Distrust	7.5	1-18
Insecurity-Defeat	5.6	0-10
Race-Ethnicity	.94	0-8
Morality	3.2	0-7
(N = 34)		

Test Administration

It has been established that testing conditions may influence scores on personality tests. In projective testing, the behavior of the examiner, or even his presence in the room, may inhibit strong emotional content. In order to minimize these effects, it has been suggested that: (1) standardized procedures should be followed to the minutest detail; (2) any unusual testing conditions should be recorded; and (3) testing conditions should be taken into account in interpreting test results (Anastasi, 1968).

In the current project, group testing in which pictures are projected on a screen and subjects write their own stories has been found to be most successful in producing usable material. The use of an interviewer, who writes down stories as they are told him by the subject, may lead to many distortions. In one experiment oral stories were taped as they were also written down by the administrator. Gross distortions were reported in the written protocol, not only in small detail but in actual content. (Personal communication from Professor Charles V. Lair, Psychometrician, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, 1971.) The protocols of this project which were administered individually and written down by the administrator (as in Minnesota) were the thinnest in terms of scorable material.

For this test five minutes were allowed for each story. It may be that this is an insufficient amount of time for people of low verbal facility and unpracticed imaginations, as there were a number of unfinished stories. In fact, even among the sample of graduate university students, there was a mean of only 61.2 words per story, and the highest frequency for all groups was 160, far from Murray's standard of 300 words per story. What these words expressed is interpreted in the next section on findings of the VOT in preliminary administration.

SOME FINDINGS OF THE VOT

One of the objectives of this study was to learn if the VOT could produce findings that would contribute evidence for the validity of culture of poverty concepts. The analysis of protocols administered during the course of the study reveals that the VOT scores offer support for some postulates and disconfirm others. These findings are at least suggestive of areas that need further empirical investigation of the culture of poverty hypotheses.

A sample of 34 protocols from New Careers trainees was analyzed for the purpose of establishing norms on all the value orientations. These give a picture of southern urban black attitudes, as represented by a predominantly female sample. Scores from samples of other ethnic groups (Indians, rural whites, and Spanish-Americans; N = 24 each) have been compared on some variables of special interest in the development of this test. Figures given represent the number of times the response was checked by scorers (not the weighted scores). It is not meaningful to convert these figures to proportions, as the number of checks does not coincide with the number of protocols, but rather with the total number of responses among the entire group. (E.g., ten checks could all come from one protocol. If each response was checked for every picture, there would be a maximum total of 374 checks for each response in this type of calculation: 34 protocols x 11 pictures. The range in this series is from 3 to 141.)

Alienation and Distrust

Alienation and distrust are commonly considered widespread among the chronically impoverished. Responses reflecting alienation are subsumed under the value orientation "social estrangement" in this test. "Distrust" is a separate value orientation which also reflects alienation. Social estrangement includes responses labeled "disagrees with story characters," "avoids involvement," "disagrees with community," "shows generalized anger, resentment," "views family, sex relations negatively," "commits crime," and "lacks norms (anomie)."

Alienation among these subjects is indicated by high scores on a number of variables. For example, the subjects disagreed with their own story characters 141 times. This is interpreted as a form of social estrangement since the subject is free to create positive or negative characters in his stories, as he wills.

Antagonism in relations between the sexes is another hypothesis of the culture of poverty idea that tends to be confirmed by these tests. The total score for "views family, sex relations negatively" is 64, high compared with the moderate score of 38 for "views family, sex relations positively."

Among these subjects distrust, expressed as a pessimistic outlook, is revealed 135 times, and this high degree of pessimism is consistent with culture of poverty theory. Further support for the alienation hypothesis is found in other frequencies related to distrust. These subjects were scored "cynical, suspicious" 72 times, a rather high figure that supports culture of poverty theory. They also had a moderately high score of 56 for violence. Yet the findings of low scores on suicide (9) concurs with other evidence that the suicide rate is low among black Americans. The score for "kills" was also low (19), which is a contrast to both theory and the higher score for violence. It should be considered whether there is a norm in this culture pattern for violent settlement of disputes--a violence reflecting intense frustration, as well as lack of perceived alternative modes of action--but also a norm against actual killing or self-destruction. Moderate scores were received for quarreling, and low scores for acting sly and cunning. These tend to refute theory.

Affiliation

Supporting the trend shown in items of alienation, the frequencies for "affiliated with others," which deals primarily with friendship and association patterns (24), and for "feels responsibility for community" (14) were quite low. These also suggest negative support for the alienation hypothesis. On the other hand, scores among this group were fairly high for "shares community values," so there appears to be strong community identification, which elevates the scores on affiliation. This is in line with general findings that American blacks have many extended family ties, which serve as a sort of community, and with current evidence of stronger "peoplehood" solidarity among black people.

Optimism

The high evidence of distrust is counterbalanced by its opposite. The same subjects show themselves to be optimistic in 109 instances, which introduces some contradiction into the theory. One has the distinct impression from these protocols that they tend to reflect recognition of harsh reality in the interpretation of events or in their expected outcomes, but that a determined note of hope and optimism creeps in also. It is this ambivalence, or ability to survive with hope despite grim facts, that makes a pat formulation of the characteristics of those said to be in the culture of poverty questionable.

Insecurity, Defeat

Members of the culture of poverty are reputed to be notably lacking in a sense of security and to experience a feeling of defeat rather frequently. Our data do not support these assumptions. There were only moderate scores for anxiety (31) and for "discontinues, quits" (39). The latter suggests that the poor do not have much more than an average tendency to give up easily and leave the scene of difficulty. Other low scores challenge this theory: "feels powerless," which is supposed to be a major trait in the culture of poverty, was checked only 14 times; there was little evidence that could be interpreted as discouragement or unhappiness; and there were only slightly more signs of "fatigue," which is seen as a reflection of defeat.

Autonomy and Deference

No evidence of a strong sense of autonomy emerges among the poor tested. This is reflected in responses labeled "resents compulsion," "fights for rights," and "dominating." Deference, on the other hand, is measured by responses titled "respects, obeys authority," "feels inferior," "is dependent, submissive," and "is fatalistic." Scores were low on fights for rights and on dominating, but they were also low on feels inferior (6), is dependent, submissive (11), and is fatalistic (3). These latter three are almost unanimously considered central characteristics of those in the culture of poverty, a position not at all supported by these data. Two items which essentially contradict each other both received moderate scores: "resents compulsion" had a total of 32 items checked; "respects authority" had 38 checks. These scores suggest the ambivalence felt among black Americans toward "establishment" authority. There is evidently a considerable respect for authority figures, but it is apparently coupled with resistance to the dominant group's norms.

Hedonism

Scenes in the test pictures were designed to elicit responses which would reflect the storied hedonism of the poor, particularly with respect to neglect of work, but the scores of those tested with the Value Orientation Test do not support this usual characterization of the poor. "Neglects work" had a moderate score of 30, and "seeks pleasure" is slightly higher with a score of 38. The latter, of course, carries no automatic pejorative connotation but is intended to reflect excessive preoccupation with pleasure-seeking. This, however, is the level of scores one might expect to find among any normal population. Indeed, the moralistic exhortation that "he should tend to his job and not be wasting time" was the commonest response in this test.

Discipline

Lack of discipline is one of the commoner traits attributed to members of the culture of poverty. The VOT does not show much tendency to intensify or exert more effort to achieve goals among this population. On the other hand, it yields high marks on "endures, plods, is self-controlled," with a score of 58. This is consistent with some descriptions of the poor and contrary to others. (Endurance is one of the areas in which characterizations of the impoverished are inconsistent.) In this context, "endures" also signifies postponing gratification. In any case, the scores offer a solid base for training and work placement possibilities. There is also slight evidence that the poor seek opportunities to "start over."

Stimulation

Little evidence of a need for stimulation appears in these protocols. The value orientation response in the scoring form does not permit much exploration of this value, but there has also been little material in the protocols themselves that require an elaborated system for scoring this response. There is still a possibility for 11 checks on each protocol in scoring this item, or a total of 374 for the whole group.

Cognition

The poor are usually credited with little strength in cognitive functioning. In this study, they show moderate evidence of "thinking, reflecting," and of "discussing, negotiating." A surprise in this value orientation is the high score for "problem-solves, plans." The total frequency for this response was 90, a very high score for this group. This is a glaring contradiction to the culture of poverty hypothesis that the poor do not plan.

Acquisition

These responses were high on the expression of acquisitive needs, with the response "seeks money, material goods" receiving a total score of 68. Additional checks for "wants help in getting things" and, occasionally, "steals" raised the score for acquisition. Most subjects, in fact, express a wish for material goods, often as part of a desire for improvement of their characters' conditions. Good furniture, nice homes, and modern appliances are among the most commonly wished-for items, but food alone is not a rare desire. The relation of this finding to culture of poverty theory is uncertain; some theorists seem to consider the poor as satisfied with substandard conditions; others see the poor as hungry for material goods, which they consider to represent improved status, as well as fulfilling basic needs.

Success, Status

Responses dealing with aspirations and desires for improvement present some challenges to culture of poverty theory and some supportive data. Expressions of failure are moderately high (46). This response is included in the "success" value orientation on the interpretation that expressions of a sense of failure imply some aspirations that have not been fulfilled. Responses were very low on "envies" and on "seeks social status" with scores of four and seven, respectively. Yet "seeks improvement" has a high frequency of 67. This finding suggests that "improvement" is seen within a framework of the respondent's own life style, rather than through invidious comparisons with others of higher social status.

Education is moderately valued among the black group, as indicated by a total score of 31. Among all the ethnic groups tested, education is valued most highly by the Spanish-Americans of the southwest, with a frequency of 74 on a base of 24 protocols. Nearly 100 percent of these subjects specified the importance of getting a good education. Those least impressed with the value of education were the northern white farmers of Minnesota, who had only 25 checks for this response. Their stories contained statements such as, "He will drop out of school just like I did. I didn't like it either." American Indians were in the second highest range with respect to valuing education, showing a total score of 34 checks among their 24 protocols.

Spanish-Americans, American Indians, and black adults tend to see education as a way of upward mobility for their children and stress the importance of an education for the young. Such comments as, "I think he should study and continue to study if he wants to be a success," and "Education will mean more than work does now" reflect this concern with education as a means of upward mobility. Spanish-Americans in this study apparently share this view most intensely.

Work is even more highly valued by all the groups. Spanish-Americans again had the highest frequency with 92 checks. White northern farmers expressed valuation of work 66 times, and American Indians 65 times. Black Americans had the lowest frequency with 46 checks for this response. It must be remembered that these three samples contained only 24 protocols each, while the black Americans had 34, so the differences between the highest and the lowest are substantial.

These scores on work and education values refute culture of poverty theory; in fact, some of them almost identify the subjects of these groups with the strong American work ethic characteristic of the middle class. Although work was values and "seeks improvement" scored rather highly (67), there was little evidence of genuine "ambition" as defined by this test. Scores were unanimously low on this response. This suggests that the poor see very significant limits to their aspirations. Nevertheless, the poor of all ethnic groups obviously value work more highly than usual descriptions imply. It is possible that "seeks improvement" and "is ambitious" should be combined in this test, since discrimination between them is not very sharp and may not be meaningful for low-income populations. Table 7 summarizes the findings on education and work evaluation.

Table 7. Frequencies of Scorers' Checks for Responses Valuing Education and Work by Four Ethnic Groups

Group	N	Education	Work
Spanish-Americans, Southwest	(24)	74	92
American Indians	(24)	34	65
Black Americans, Urban South	(34)	31	46
White Rural, Minnesota	(24)	25	66

Race, Ethnicity

One of the unexpected findings of this test, as it was administered to samples of several groups, was the differential saliency of race. Table 8 indicates the percentages from five ethnic groups of those who mentioned race in their stories. (In this case, percentages are meaningful because each protocol rather than each check is considered as a unit.)

Table 8. Percentage of Those Mentioning Race in VOT Stories by Ethnic Group

Group	N	Percentage
Middle-Class Students	(12)	.583
White Rural, Minnesota	(24)	.458
Black Americans, Urban South	(70)	.256
American Indians	(24)	.250
Spanish-Americans, Southwest	(24)	.083

The issue of race seems most salient among middle-class students, predominantly white, followed by white northern farmers. The Spanish-Americans showed the least consciousness of race. The low level of race consciousness among blacks is somewhat surprising, as those southern urban blacks who did mention race tended to be militant and angry in their approach, showing great hostility to white "bosses," businessmen, and authority figures. It is interesting, in these times, to note that blacks and Indians show about the same degree of race consciousness. If American Indians, southern black Americans and Spanish-Americans are included among those in the culture of poverty, as they usually are, this finding does not support the hypothesis that the lower classes, at least of minority groups, are typically high in group prejudice.

These findings lend added weight to the cautionary position of critics of the culture of poverty thesis. While some of them support descriptions of people in the poverty syndrome, others markedly diverge from the attributes said to be characteristic of this group. A few examples can help summarize the situation with respect to empirical support or disconfirmation of theory, as indicated by the VOT.

A rather high degree of alienation and distrust is confirmed by the data, and the widely asserted antagonism in relations among the sexes is supported. While pessimism is widespread, there is simultaneous evidence of a high level of optimism, revealing some ambivalence in world view. A strong sense of community identification appears common, which contributes higher frequencies to affiliation than might be expected. Findings on physical violence and killing were not as pronounced as culture of poverty predictions would lead one to expect.

Little evidence was produced that the poor rate highly on a sense of insecurity or defeat. It is worth speculating that recent mass movements involving struggle for rights of underprivileged minorities may have had a salubrious effect on these traits.

A low level of autonomy scores seems to support culture of poverty premises. There was not, however, a correspondingly high level of deference, which again suggests that sociocultural changes in the larger society may be having an effect on this realm of behavior. While there is slight evidence of a hedonistic outlook, it is not nearly so pronounced as culture of poverty adherents would have us believe. Indeed, there was strong evidence of self-discipline and a sense of responsibility toward work.

A notable finding that contradicts most descriptions of the culture of poverty school is that the poor in these tests scored highly on "planning and problem-solving." Evaluations of both education and work were substantially higher than the culture of poverty theorists have promulgated. The formulations of the importance of education among the lower-class populations tested seem to support Mizruchi's (1964) assertion that these groups value education not so much as an end in itself as a means to upward mobility. Education, then, is seen as a way of escaping the "culture of poverty." This attitude also lends support to Gans' (1969) position that parents do not wish to transmit this way of life to their children. In turn, this adds to doubts about the "poverty way of life" as a genuine culture. Finally, evidence of ethnic prejudice is far scantier than the charges usually made against the poor would suggest. These contrary findings constitute areas in which additional research on the value orientations of the poor is indicated.

It may be argued that those tested in this study are not truly representative of the culture of poverty class, inasmuch as they have shown the initiative and motivation to participate in training programs designed to help them advance in their career possibilities. This reservation has some validity as far as the culture of poverty debate goes, although it raises a serious question of selective definition. The subjects who were evaluated by the VOT do come from economic categories that most would include as part of the culture of poverty. Some are virtually forced into training programs by "welfare" personnel. Since the VOT was designed to be applied to low-income individuals in relation to training programs, it is precisely such groups that will be evaluated by this instrument. The findings of this study neither wholly support nor completely reject the traits included in the culture of poverty concept, but if some segments of the lower socioeconomic classes cannot be accurately characterized by the attributes ascribed to the culture of poverty, then the definition of this concept needs to be sharpened.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study has been concerned with developing a new projective instrument, the Value Orientation Test (VOT), and with using it for exploration of the hypotheses put forward, but usually untested, by adherents of the "culture of poverty" thesis. The test was constructed on the basis of these culture of poverty hypotheses and is intended for practical use with low-income or disadvantaged populations for whom other tests have been found unsuitable. It is also seen to have theoretical significance in the study of the effects of poverty on personality. As theoretical background, the study of value orientations was reviewed, and the usefulness of projective tests in the social sciences was assessed. The concept of the culture of poverty and its implicit hypotheses were examined critically on the basis of both theory and empirical data. Doubts as to its demonstrated validity were raised. The hypothesis explored is that the VOT protocols would reveal strong evidence of the traits usually ascribed to members of the "culture of poverty."

For the VOT, efforts were focused first on developing a scoring system and establishing interscorer reliability. Even though this process was prematurely terminated by lack of funds, a reliability coefficient of .63 was reached. Research on other projective tests suggests that this is a respectable level of reliability at this stage of test development. Attempts were also made to establish criterion-related validity. Comparisons with the criterion of staff ratings on trainees yielded substantial evidence for criterion-related, or concurrent, validity.

Certain norms for the populations tested have been presented. It is suggested that these norms are realistic for the following low-income groups: southern urban blacks, southwestern Spanish-Americans, rural American Indians, and Minnesota white farmers.

A manual (Appendix A) has been developed which contains the following information:

1. List of Value Orientations and Responses
2. General Instructions
3. General Attributes of Protocol
4. Definitions and Illustrations of Value Orientations and Responses
5. The Value Orientation Test Pictures
6. Relevant Value Orientations and Responses for Each VOT Picture

7. Norms

8. Story-telling Form

9. Index of Responses

It is intended that this test, when fully developed, can be used, with careful and constant reference to the manual, by skilled or professional persons without previous testing training. At the present stage of development, however, it would be unwise for anyone to use this test indiscriminately. The level of reliability reached, while acceptable at this stage for research purposes, sets major limits on interpretations of individual protocols for actual applied situations. It is strongly recommended that the test as it is presently constituted be interpreted only in conjunction with other evaluative evidence.

Samples of scored VOT protocols obtained from urban black New Careers trainees, Spanish-Americans, American Indians, and white rural northerners have been analyzed to ascertain whether these test findings support or refute the culture of poverty postulates. The results are mixed, but a number of central features of the culture of poverty concept are seriously challenged by these data.

Support for culture of poverty theory is shown by VOT protocols mainly in the area of alienation and distrust. Several variables classified under "Affiliation" have low frequencies, while many of the responses listed under "Social Estrangement" and "Distrust" have high scores. Nevertheless, scores for violent behavior in general are lower than would be expected. High frequencies for "Acquisition" also support the theory.

Among the findings which do not support culture of poverty theory are several of major importance in the field of occupational education. Valuation of both work and education was higher in all ethnic groups tested than theory would lead one to expect. The poor in these samples seem to have experienced little sense of insecurity or defeat, and there was a very slight degree of deference expressed. Race consciousness was high only among white subjects. Planning and problem-solving were much more in evidence than is usually credited to the poor. High scores were also given for "seeks improvement," and a rather high amount of discipline was scored. Endurance and perseverance seem to be common among these poor, and such features suggest important strengths on which to build to improve the lot of the disadvantaged through training and work programs.

Conclusions

The culture of poverty thesis has been examined in this study, both theoretically and by means of a new projective instrument, the Value Orientation Test. Attention has been focused on imputed value systems, not on life styles, of the poor. Most of the implicit hypotheses of the culture of poverty thesis seem to have been based primarily on observation that may well have been colored by class bias. Because there have been relatively few empirical data sources supporting these ideas, special effort has been made in this study to develop an appropriate instrument to explore these assumptions. Conclusions derived from the study are, therefore, related to both the culture of poverty thesis and the usefulness of the instrument developed.

The first conclusion that may be noted is that the study of values, though elusive and difficult to design, is a legitimate and useful enterprise in the social sciences. It has increasingly won acceptance as one means of explaining behavior. It is also concluded that projective tests, if properly designed for the populations on which they are to be used, have a valuable place in social science study methods.

The Culture of Poverty Thesis

A review of various theories concerning personality development shows that the concept of a culture of poverty is not incompatible with many theoretical formulations. Nevertheless, empirical data to support this concept have been markedly few. While the strength of the relationship between culture and personality systems seems well established, there is no conclusive evidence to support the notion of a special "culture of poverty" in terms of distinctive value systems among the poor. The abundant evidence of a difference in life styles does not automatically warrant extrapolating this difference to value systems.

Comparison of scores on the VOT, administered during the course of this study, with items in the list of values usually attributed to the culture of poverty exposes a need to re-assess such a catalog of traits. While a few of the hypothesized orientations of the poor are supported by evidence from these tests, many others are contradicted by the data. The hypothesis that the VOT would strongly support the culture of poverty thesis about value orientations among the poor must be rejected on this evidence. The culture of poverty hypotheses supported by these data can be subsumed under the orientation Alienation. Those related to a success orientation--e.g., the hypothesized lack of a work ethic, low valuing of education, and little interest in seeking improvement--are not confirmed by our data.

It has been pointed out in the exploration of the culture of poverty thesis that many contradictions exist within it. Some of these contradictions appear in our data also. It may be speculated that among the poor the subculture, if one can actually be defined, is in a state of flux. Many of the contradictions found in the customary descriptions of the culture of poverty actually do appear to exist among low-income populations. Such a supposition supports the theoretical position taken earlier that interaction between society-wide events and social-psychological processes is of marked importance. It would seem to be an error to postulate entrenched cultural traits in a mass consumption-oriented society and in a period of rapid social change. Clearly, environmental circumstances have a significant impact on individual behavior and value structures. Our data support the position of Allen (1970) who states:

> From a review of available data, then, one must conclude that many presumed relationships between personality characteristics and poverty simply are not supported by results of reliable research.

Thus, many stereotyped notions about motivation, levels of aspiration, and commitment to certain broad cultural values among the poor have been challenged by empirical research. On the other hand, there seems to be wide agreement that the life experiences of the poor have produced different modes of responses, for example, a different cognitive style or pattern of learning. These findings would seem to have important implications for the planning and execution of training programs and other forms of occupational education. Yet much additional empirical study is needed before we can unequivocally state that the lifeways of the poor actually form a different cultural value pattern from the dominant groups in society.

It may be good, therefore, to take seriously some of the criticisms made by Valentine (1968). He argues that the concept of a culture of poverty was constructed by theorists who cannot escape their own middle-class bias. He claims that this approach focuses on the victim rather than on the social structure. The postulate of a self-perpetuating lower class implies that people are poor because they want to be, position Valentine vigorously rejects.

It is his thesis that most information on the poor derives from sources that identify organization and order with conformity to middle-class norms:

> Any possibility of finding another kind of social organization or cultural patterning in observations from these sources is confounded from the outset. The reports of life among the poor emanating from policeman, judges, and welfare workers are the domestic equivalent of portrayals and assessments of indigenous lifeways by colonial administrators or missionaries (Valentine, 1968).

Valentine declares that clarification is needed of the distinction between cultural values and situational or circumstantial adaptations. Not all values are manifested straightforwardly on the surface of everyday life. Even traits that are prized and endorsed according to the standards of a cultural system are not always practically available in the exigencies of ongoing existence. It is a misconception to suppose that people everywhere live as they do because they prefer it that way. Opportunities to choose goals in accordance with value priorities or otherwise are objectively narrowed when life chances in general are reduced by the structure of society.

Valentine fears that analyzing problems of the poor in terms of a culture of poverty may distract attention from crucial structural characteristics of the stratified system as a whole and focus it instead on alleged motivational peculiarities of the poor that are of doubtful validity or relevance. As we have seen, several investigations suggest that the cultural values of the ~~poor may be~~ much the same as middle-class values, which are modified in practice because of situational stresses. Until more reliable studies are undertaken, the question of a genuine culture of poverty must remain moot.

The Value Orientation Test

As a projective instrument that reflects recognizable situations to which low-income individuals can meaningfully respond, the VOT fills a need for an evaluative tool that has not previously been available for this population. Based on an exploration of value orientations often said to handicap the poor in training programs and work situations, the VOT shows enough promise for practical use to be worthy of continued development.

The interscorer reliability coefficient of .63, reached after only three small groups of protocols had been scored, is at an acceptable level compared with coefficients of reliability reported in the literature on projective tests.

Criterion-related validity was satisfactorily demonstrated, based on comparison of counselors' ratings with VOT scores (chi-square average = 10.97, significant at .001 level). Construct validity has not been established, but according to some sources, the method used to determine criterion-related validity also contributes some evidence of construct validity (Kerlinger, 1964; Selltiz, et al., 1959).[9]

The usefulness of the new projective instrument seems clear from its use in this study. Efforts to open the doors of occupational opportunity would profit by new evaluative tools, and the Value Orientation Test appears to have substantial promise for this purpose. Some of the situations in which this test can be useful are described below.

Some Possible Uses of the VOT

Occupational and Educational Counseling

If values and tendencies toward behavior can be successfully predicted by this test, it will be useful in counseling low-income students for educational and occupational choice. Some of the value orientations scored in the test, while not job specific, are relevant to work selection. Such items as autonomy and dependence, affiliation, desire for success and status improvement, cognition, stimulation, and discipline have major implications for the kind of training and work for which a candidate is suited or motivated.

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[9] As a "reward" for their cooperation in the testing experiments, the New Careers counselors were given a summary "profile" derived from the individual VOT protocols of each trainee in their group. This was done because both trainees and counselors asked for some feedback from the tests. The profiles of individuals were given in confidence to the counselors to use as they wished. The author was told by two of the counselors that the profiles for given trainees "hit the nail on the head exactly," in the words of one counselor. While this cannot be considered systematic evidence, it was reassuring as to the face validity of the VOT.

Curriculum Development

An important need exists for curriculum components that will change attitudes toward work, supervision, and initiative vs. passivity among the disadvantaged. If the findings of the VOT point to some consistent patterns of values among certain population groups, the basis will be laid for developing curriculum changes that can meet this need for attitude modification programs.

Placement into Training Activities

The VOT can be a useful instrument for determining a low-income student's readiness for certain stages of occupational training and can indicate the areas to which special attention should be directed in the course of training.

Measuring Value Changes

It is hoped that the VOT will successfully measure changes in orientation that occur in the course of training or supervised work experience. With controlled experimentation these measures would have signficance for curriculum construction, as well as for working with individuals, in pacing instructional programs adapted to their needs.

Personnel Selection

An instrument that can measure work-relevant value orientations and point to other behavioral tendencies, such as those enumerated above, will be of considerable value to personnel managers in hiring and upgrading personnel.

Improving Human Relations

The VOT may have substantial utility in indicating areas where interaction among employees and between employees and management needs to be improved. One way to do this would be to administer the test to both employees and supervisors (or trainers) to try to measure value orientation differences between them. The results might point to the need for modification in the transactional relationship between the subject and the context, which would require some mutual changes in value orientations. One possibility for modification is to attempt to formulate new behavior patterns that would express existing value orientations.

Rehabilitation Training Programs

Many of the correctional systems today are attempting to place parolees and probationers in work-training situations which provide them with a genuine avenue of rehabilitation and upward mobility. The VOT would be a useful instrument for identifying values and related behavioral areas that need special attention and counseling by corrections officers who are responsible for the rehabilitation programs. The warden of North Carolina State Prison at Raleigh has already expressed interest in this type of test. (Personal communication from Dr. Stanley Blackledge, Warden.)

Mobility Programs

Some of the federally funded "mobility" programs have attempted to relocate low-income families with a high incidence of unemployment and low skills. The families are moved from low-employment areas (usually rural) to high-employment areas (usually urban). Many problems have been encountered in the adaptation by the relocated families, and there has been a high rate of failure to keep the families in the new settings and job situations. The VOT has potential use in helping both mobility staff counselors and employers identify the problems that need attention before failure occurs. This may involve efforts to modify values or simply the redirecting of behavior to satisfy old values in ways appropriate for new settings.

Manpower Development Programs

These federally funded programs are training new staff to serve as family counselors to work with low-income, jobless families in poverty areas. The use of the VOT with both the trainees for family counseling and their clients, who will be trainees in work orientation programs, has potential value. Comparisons of the value orientations of the family counselors and their clients would permit training efforts to work on the necessary interactional modifications that will be required for truly effective results.

Recommendations for Further Research

Additional data gathered in the preliminary stages of this test's development have not been used in this study. It would be useful to investigate the correlations between the VOT scores and other tests administered to trainees in the Concerted Services in Training and Education programs in 1967. These tests included the Srole Anomia Scale, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, and the Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions on General Adjustment, Family, Law, Economic Conservatism, and Education. Correlations of these tests and the VOT scores have been beyond the scope of the present study.

Retest reliability of the VOT might be pursued by comparing original tests with retests of the same subjects. Because of dropouts, absenteeism, and scheduling of new training groups, only 14 retests were obtained for the New Careers trainees. Some of the C.S.T.E. trainees were also retested, and there may be enough of these to make meaningful comparisons. Retests during the course of training may also be used to inquire into whether training has any effect on changing value orientations.

Further work should be done on interscorer reliability. The experience of this study suggests that the present coefficient of reliabidity could be raised if determined attention were given to the problem. Scorers indicated that they were only beginning to feel comfortable and familiar enough with the manual when scoring was suspended for lack of funds.

While some validity of the VOT has been demonstrated by this study, additional efforts should be directed at confirming this and increasing evidence of validity by more sophisticated methods. Special attention should be given to construct validity. A method of construct validation that might be explored is the correlation of test items with total scores. "The total test score of any individual is assumed to be valid. To the extent that any item measures the same thing the total score does, to that extent the item is valid" (Kerlinger, 1964). Factor analysis could also be used for construct validation: "Factor analysis may almost be called the most important of construct validity tools (Kerlinger, 1964).

Administration of the test to additional groups would establish norms for new populations, thereby making wider generalizations possible. More work is needed on the scoring system, both to simplify it and to improve interpretive possibilities.

Because of the mixed evidence on the validity of the assumptions underlying the "culture of poverty" thesis, it would be desirable to continue research designed to test these assumptions further. Use of the Value Orientation Test on additional samples drawn from groups included in low socioeconomic populations could provide a larger body of data on which to evaluate the hypotheses of the "culture of poverty" concept.

Demonstrations of a respectable degree of interscorer reliability and substantial criterion-related validity show the Value Orientation Test to have significant potential for use in occupational education. It is to be expected that the use of the VOT, like all projective tests, will involve continued efforts to explore levels of reliability and validity, as well as various applications to practical situations. The conclusion of this study is that this test can fulfill an important need in the evaluation process for training and work placement.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

VALUE ORIENTATION TEST MANUAL

List of Value Orientations and Responses
(for quick reference)

I. AFFILIATION:
  1. Shares community's values, norms
  2. Is affiliated with others
  3. Has positive view of family, sex
  4. Feels responsibility for community

II. SOCIAL ESTRANGEMENT:
  1. Disagrees with story characters
  2. Avoids involvement
  3. Disagrees with community
  4. Shows generalized anger, resentment
  5. Views family, sex hostilely
  6. Commits crime
  7. Lacks norms (anomie)

III. ACQUISITION:
  1. Seeks money, material goods, food
  2. Wants help in getting things
  3. Is wily, grasping
  4. Steals

IV. SUCCESS, STATUS:
  1. Fails
  2. Envies
  3. Desires social status
  4. Values education
  5. Values work
  6. Seeks improvement
  7. Is ambitious

V. COGNITION:
  1. Thinks, reflects, analyzes
  2. Discusses, negotiates, talks over
  3. Problem-solves, plans, investigates

VI. STIMULATION:
  1. Seeks change, excitement, novelty

VII. DISCIPLINE:
  1. Starts over
  2. Endures, plods, is self-controlled
  3. Intensifies, exerts more effort

VIII. HEDONISM:
  1. Seeks pleasure, self-indulgence
  2. Neglects work, responsibilities

IX. AUTONOMY:
  1. Resists compulsion
  2. Fights for rights
  3. Is dominating

X. DEFERENCE:
   1. Respects, obeys authority
   2. Feels inferior
   3. Is dependent, submissive
   4. Is fatalistic

XI. TRUST:
   1. Is optimistic, cheerful, expects help
   2. Is cooperative, willing to help

XII. DISTRUST:
   1. Is pessimistic
   2. Is cynical, suspicious
   3. Quarrels, argues, calls names
   4. Acts sly, cunning, deceitful
   5. Attacks physically, is violent
   6. Commits suicide
   7. Kills

XIII. INSECURITY, DEFEAT:
   1. Is discouraged, unhappy
   2. Feels powerless
   3. Shows anxiety
   4. Fatigues
   5. Discontinues, flees

XIV. RACE, ETHNICITY:
   1. Identifies race
   2. Emulates
   3. Sees oppression
   4. Shows race pride or approval
   5. Hates, resents
   6. Is conflictive

XV. MORALISM:
   1. Reveres religious figures
   2. Feels guilt
   3. Is concerned with morality, judges others

VOT Scoring

General Instructions

1. Why the Value Orientation Test? This Test was developed with a particular view to the need for an appropriate test for low-income people. Other projective tests have been found to lack relevance for low-income populations in many cases. The pictures in the VOT were designed to represent scenes that would be recognizable and meaningful to people in this socioeconomic group. Since the act of telling a story is common to nearly all cultural groups, this type of test seemed most practicable for reducing cultural bias.

2. Theory and Rationale. The Value Orientation Test is a projective instrument, designed to evoke fantasy as well as cognitive activity from the subject. Upon being shown a picture, the subject is asked to tell a story about it. Six questions are asked about each picture to help the subject structure his stories. (These questions are given in the protocols.)

   The theory upon which projective tests are based is that each individual interprets a stimulus differently and "distorts apperceptively." His perceptions and interpretations of the contemporary outer world are influenced by the individual's inner states, memories, or qualities. This is a completely normal process by which new experience is assimilated into and transformed by the residuum of past experience of any individual to form a new whole.

   On this assumption lies the expectation that any subject in responding to a fairly ambiguous picture will project his own beliefs, attitudes, and, of especial interest to us, his value orientations. For the purposes of this test, a "value orientation" represents a cluster of preferences that serve to integrate as well as to guide and channel activities in functionally important areas of life. They are conceptions, explicit or implicit, which influence the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action, and constitute grounds for decisions in behavior. It is important to note that value orientations may be "negative" (e.g., distrust) as well as "positive" (e.g., trust).

   In scoring this test, all responses of the subject are to be taken into account, whether the subject attributes the feelings, actions, or evaluations to himself or to other characters in the story. This decision is based on the hypothesis that even disapproved behavior may represent suppressed desires or impulses which may be temporarily concealed by socialized responses. Preoccupation with certain behavior, whether expressly disapproved or not, gives many clues to personality and, hence, behavioral tendencies. Allowance is made, however, for any discrepancy between a character's behavior and the subject's evaluation of it in the response category "disagrees with story characters." (Social estrangement, II 1)

3. The VOT Pictures. Eleven (11) pictures have been retained for use in this test. They are identified by letters A to L. (Picture J has been omitted, since it was found to be unproductive.) The value orientations these sketches were designed to measure are described in the section of this Manual called "Relevant Value Orientations and Responses." Of course, in any given case, some entirely different responses may be elicited. Some of these may fall into the category "~~Sees~~ unusual perception" (67). Familiarity with the pictures used in this test will help make the content of the stories and the particular responses more clear.

4. Administration of the Test. The VOT has been administered in two ways, individually and in groups. When the test is given individually, the interviewer may ask the subject to tell his story orally while the interviewer writes it down, or the subject may write his story himself. In group administration, the pictures are shown by means of a slide projector, and the subjects are asked to write their stories. Five minutes are usually allotted for each story. The administrator answers only questions pertaining to the instructions to be followed; he does not offer interpretations of the scene depicted. He does, however, provide encouragement and positive reinforcement now and then. Group administration has been found to be very productive in this test.

5. Scoring Value Orientations. There are fifteen (15) value orientations to be scored. Each VOT has a set of responses within it. (See List of Value Orientations and Responses.) These responses are intended to represent a scale within the value orientation category, from weakest or least to strongest or most. Subjects' responses will be scored by checking the appropriate box in the columns headed "A," "B," etc. on the scoring sheet. These columns represent the eleven pictures used. The entire story for each picture will be scored before moving on to the next story. Thus, checks will be entered for the appropriate responses first in column A, then in column B, etc. If any of the protocols contains stories for picture J, those stories are to be ignored.

6. Definitions of Value Orientations and Responses. It is essential that the scorer become familiar with the definitions of the value orientations and responses. An important objective of this test is to secure high reliability among scorers. This can be achieved only if there is mutual understanding of the meanings of the response categories.

7. Keep Interpretations Literal. The definitions attempt to specify responses by concrete behavior or by expressed feelings that guide behavior. It is important to keep interpretations as literal as possible. In other words, the scorer should avoid "reading into" the subject's statement things that are not actually there. It is obvious that some inferences will have to be made about what is really being said by the subject. The whole context of the story and its setting must be taken into account in interpreting the meaning of a phrase or statement. It is, for example, perfectly

appropriate to interpret as expressing a "hostile" attitude toward the opposite sex any story which reflects much suspicion or attributes dishonest or inconsiderate motives to a character of the opposite sex, even though such hostile feelings are not actually specified.

8. Illustrative Material Illustrations from actual protocols are provided for each of the definitions of responses. These illustrative quotations face the page on which the definitions are given. They are designed to show how some typical responses are scored. In a number of instances, two or more categories for scoring are indicated for a given response

9. Numbering System For the purpose of easy identification, the value orientations have been assigned Roman numerals (I, II, III . . .), and the responses within each category have been assigned Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3 . . .). Thus, the response "Commits Suicide" in the value orientation "Distrust" can be readily labeled XII, 6.

10. Breadth of Response Definitions. The definition given under a particular response category does not imply that every detail of it must appear in the subject's story in order to be scored. Each definition is, in fact, a range of related responses If any one of these fits the statement in the protocol, that response should be scored.

11 Check Only Relevant Responses. Although there are over sixty (60) response categories that may be scored, it will soon become apparent that any given story will be scored for only a few of these. There will, therefore, be many blanks in each column, and they are to be left blank. Check only the responses that actually appear in a story.

12. Score Some Responses More Than Once Note from the illustrations that many responses will be given two or more scores. This is determined from the content of the response, which may reflect several different value orientations or degrees of response. Each statement should be examined carefully for the various possible scores it contains.

13 Response Definitions That Seem Similar. Some response definitions may seem at first to be redundant or to overlap with others. To clarify the differences in meaning, refer to the value orientation under which the response is listed. For example, generalized anger or violence can be distinguished from those which have a specifically racial focus in the context of the story. The former will be scored as Social Estrangement (II, 4), while the latter will be scored as Race, ethnicity (XIV, 5 or 6).

14. Index of Responses. An Index of Responses has been provided. It attempts to list all responses and various synonyms that are included in the definitions. The index refers you to the value orientation (Roman numeral) and the response category (Arabic numeral) of that value orientation where the definition will be found

15. List of Value Orientations and Responses. A summary list of all value orientations and the responses subsumed under them is given at the beginning of the Manual for easy reference.

16. When Protocol Has Been Scored. Upon completion of scoring, (a) identify scorer at top left of scoring sheet for each page, (b) identify schedule number of protocol at top right of scoring sheet, and (c) initial protocol at bottom of page 1 to indicate that it has been scored.

17. Scoring Sample. A sample showing a filled-in scoring sheet for all pictures of one protocol is appended at the end of this Manual for illustrative purposes.

18. Summing Scores. When scores are summed for interpretation, the checks in the boxes are given the weight of the number the response bears within each value orientation, starting with one (1) for each value orientation. If it is the first item, for example, each check is counted one (1) point. If it is the fourth item in that value orientation, each check is counted four (4) points.

    There is space on the last page of the scoring form to total the scores. The value orientations have been clustered into two groups. The upper half represents "positive" items; the lower half represents items which might be considered "negative" or at least raise questions that might need attention during training. These summed scores will have to be interpreted in relations to norms.

19. Use of the Test. While this test was designed for use by non-professional testers (that is, those not trained in testing), it should be cautioned that much skill is needed, especially in scoring and interpreting protocols. There must be thorough familiarity with the instructions, definitions, and examples given in the Manual before scoring should be attempted. It is also recommended that a considerable amount of practice in scoring should be developed before an attempt is made to score in a "real" situation. Although the level of reliability (.63) achieved during the early development of this test is adequate for research purposes, it must be borne in mind that it sets limits on practical interpretations of actual protocols obtained for applied purposes. It is strongly recommended that this test be used in conjunction with other diagnostic procedures at the present stage of development.

General Attributes of Protocol

62. Imagination Creates imaginative, vivid story. Embellishes elaborately on theme suggested by stimulus. Has developed a complex story line.

63 Verbal facility: Skillful and easy use of language. Expressive verbal style. Does not "lack for words," is not limited in ability to say what subject wishes to express. (Language need not be "perfect English" to be scored high on this attribute.)

64. Coherence: Stories have logical development, "hang together." Incidents and "plot" developed in reasonable sequence; events grow out of preceding details, have obvious connection.

65. Uncertainty, doubt, ambivalence: Stories filled with uncertainty, vagueness; lack firm story line. Unspecific, unsure of what is seen, what happens, what is represented by stimuli. Shows ambivalance in stories (between what characters do, what subject thinks of them, and what community thinks). Not sure of outcomes; hedges with "maybes," "ifs," or alternatives. Has part good and part bad outcomes in a given story.

66. Superficiality: Absence of meaningful content in story. Lack of depth in perception or in characterizations. Lack of self-investment in story-telling. Perfunctory approach to task. Incomplete stories.

67. Sees unusual perception: Sees things in pictures not actually represented by stimulus. Has very unusual story line in terms of its relation to picture. Varies sharply from usual perceptions of other subjects.

Scores to be scaled: 3 for High; 2 for Moderate; 1 for Low.

Illustrations

General Attributes of Protocol

65. Uncertainty . . .

Maybe sooner or later she will get what she wants.
If he thinks about it hard enough, he will find a way to better himself.
If they sit down and discuss the situation, they might come to agree on a definite answer.
Maybe they'll get help or maybe they'll die of starvation.
The persons seem to be either sick or hungry. They have either been sick or without food. They want food or medication.
She is puzzled at what to do and where to go, and how she will raise her child.
A man and woman are fighting or dancing. They are mad or happy. If fighting, mad. If dancing, happy.
He is undecided what to do.

67. Sees unusual perception . . .

(Picture G) Delivering articles from store. Planning to have a place for socializing.
(Picture C) He is reading about his best friend who got busted for possession of herion. They had shot up together an hour before.
(Picture K) A man is holding a baby with a soiled face.
(Picture G) Cutting grass. It will probably rain.
(All pictures) Respondent saw fire in every picture.

Definitions
of
Value Orientations
and
Responses

(With Illustrations)

Definitions

I. Affiliation

Relates to other people in a positive way. Recognizes need for other people. Is willing to give and take help. Is warm, supportive in relating to members of opposite sex, children, family, friends, and others in general. Has sense of belonging to community, and feeling of responsibility for it.

1. Shares community values, norms: Agrees with community opinions (as subject sees them). Accepts general standards of belief and conduct followed by community. Sees community opinions same as his.

2. Is affiliated with others: Is involved, concerned, interested in other people. Is willing to extend and receive friendship; mentions friends; wants to maintain friendship ties. Character has one or more friends or sociable companions, is a member of a congenial group.

3. Views family, sex relations positively: Shows motherly or fatherly concern. Is supportive, nourishing; cares for child or offspring. Recognizes parental interest in others. Wants good, happy family life. Readily recognizes and accepts family obligations and responsibility. Relates positively to members of opposite sex, without exploitation, hostility. Has mutually affectionate love affair or marriage.

4. Feels responsibility for community: Expresses concern and sense of responsibility for solving community problems. Sees lives of others as being part of his--their problems as his problems.

Illustrations

I. Affiliation

1. Shares community values . . .

   They (community) would agree with me.

2. Is affiliated with others .

   They come home every summer and bring their good friends gifts. (Also III, 1).
   He wants to find the bank because he has an old friend working there.
   The lady wants someone to take an interest in her.
   The man wants attention from the other man and he wants to talk. (Also V, 2).
   They need to understand one another better.
   He wants someone to give him some attention.

3. Positive view of family . .

   (The woman should) make things happy for the child.
   A happy (family) relationship is wanted.
   (She ought) to get married again and settle down and have a good family
   Woman's love for child and need for father
   At least he's willing to provide for his family
   The child will grow up with love, guidance, and protection.
   These people want a job in order to provide for their families
   Try to build a good family relation and show love.

4. Feels responsibility for community .

   My community would try to help in any way we could
   They will help one another on it
   The people could get together and demand protection.

Definitions

II. Social Estrangement

Does not relate positively to other people, community, and "world." Does not "belong." Does not share beliefs and values of community or associates. Differs from other characters. Has antagonistic feelings about sex and family relations, or very negative view of them. Does not want to get involved with other people, their problems, etc. Shows general anger, hostility, resentment, harshness. Commits crime. Seems to lack standards to guide behavior.

1. Disagrees with story characters: Differs from story figures as to propriety of what is being done, what should be done, etc.

2. Avoids involvement: Wishes to stay out of others' affairs. Does not want to concern self with others. Presents extremely superficial view of relationships. Does not value solidarity with friends, trust them.

3. Disagrees with community: Does not share opinion of rest of community (as S. interprets it) concerning what characters should do. Does not seem to shafe community's values, norms.

4. Shows anger, resentment, hostility (generalized). Seems "mad at the world." Shows rage at life. Resents (rather than envies) others' good fortune, position. Is harsh or cruel; seems eager to see others suffer, get hurt. Shows prevading hostility. Lacks sympathy. Wants revenge. Shows general estrangement from other people. Is vindictive.

5. Views family, sex relations negatively: Sees sex relationships as exploitive, full of conflict. Sees marriage as strife-ridden, insecure, undependable. Fears spoiling child by loving, fondling. Seems unsympathetic, unloving, rejecting. Values family ties and solidarity little.

6. Commits crime: Mentions any kind of crime or deliberately hostile act being committed or thought about.

7. Lacks norms: Seems to lack guidelines or rules for behavior. "Anything goes." Shows uncertainty about what is appropriate for character to do or think. Finds no behavior offensive or questionable. Thinks socially disapproved behavior is necessary for goal attainment.

Illustrations

II. Social Estrangement

1. Disagrees with story characters . . .
He will go and get a drink at the bar. He should concentrate on work, not pleasure. (Also IV, 5 and VIII, 1 and XV, 3)

2. Avoids involvement . . .
The people should not get involved unless clearly necessary.
He ought to stay out of this if it isn't any of his business.
It's their thing so they can do whatever they wish. (Also II, 7)
The community doesn't want to interfere.

3. Disagrees with community . . .
S: Man should look for a better job. Community: He should be thankful for the job he has. (Also IV, 5)
S: I think if it will make them happy they should go out together. Community: They would say Sam should not go out with Sally because she is in a bar (Also VIII, 1 and XV, 3)
S: She ought to let the law handle it. Community: She ought to brand his hide. (Also X, 1; XV, 3; and II, 5)

4. Shows anger . . .
They should be angry if they move into a worse place. (Also VI, 1)
They want revenge and the policeman is available. (Also IX, 1)
This store owner probably needs to be run out of town.
Someone probably has gotten hurt and he is going to pay back.
He ought to go with her and then catch her trying to get his money and beat her head in. (Also II, 5; XII, 2; and XII, 5)

5. Family and sex negatively . . .
She will spoil the baby and won't be able to tell him anything when he grows up. (Also IX, 3)
She will get him drunk and clip him for his money. (Also XII, 2)
A married couple is having a fight.
Her husband didn't come home with his pay check, he skipped town with her next door neighbor. (Also XII, 2)
She probably has had another baby which she didn't really want.
(The married couple) should separate if they can't get along.
He made improper advances to her and she refused. (Also XV, 3)
She wants to date him and he wants to date her. However he is married with 6 kids. He will date her and come home to his wife and confess. She won't dig it and kicks him out. (Also II, 7 and XV, 2)

6. Commits crime . . .

   This man committed some type of crime and was sent to this camp to pay for it. (Also XV, 3)

7. Lacks norms . . .

   A prostitute is standing in a bar door. She was forced to make ends meet.

   Whatever he wants to do let him do it because it's his own life.

   Everyone will get drunk and the prostitute will make some money.

   Try to make the best of it this time and not be caught again.

III. Acquisition

Wishes to have things (money, material goods, food, services, etc.). Attempts to get more material things. Uses methods to acquire things that may range from legitimate to illegitimate.

1. Seeks money, material goods: Expresses wish for money, income, household objects, clothes, food, better house, etc. Tries to acquire things by own effort.

2. Wants help in getting things: Seeks assistance in getting wanted things. Looks for or asks for help. Expects or wants gifts. Borrows, wants credit.

3. Is wily, grasping: Uses wiles, tricks, cleverness, evasions to get things wanted. Is grasping or not entirely scrupulous about how things are obtained. Tries to get things without paying for them. Bargains, gambles.

4. Steals: Robs, considers stealing to get things wanted. Mentions theft, robbery, holdup, etc.

Illustrations

III. Acquisition

1. Seeks money, material goods . . .

    They probably want things that they cannot afford. (Also XV, 3)

    They want a flush toilet and running water and all the modern facilities.

    The man is wanting goods.

    She wants a home with an air conditioner.

    Wanted a good T.V.

    They wanted a better house.

    Save a little more and buy a house so they will not have to move. (Also IV, 6)

2. Wants help in getting things . . .

    She should try to get money from the children's father. She should write to the President and tell him how people like her suffer. (Also XIII, 3)

    They bring their good friends gifts.

    Black people going to the Welfare Board for help. (Also XIV, 1)

3. Is wily, grasping . . .

    She got behind or either would not pay for her T.V. and other furniture.

    She should start working and pay her bills. (Also IV, 5; XV, 3)

4. Steals . . .

    The man has just held up a bank.

    He's thinking about robbing.

    He's wondering whether to commit a crime because of something he may have wanted or been wanting.

    He stole $100,000.00.

    (Note: If such responses as those express no disapproval of such acts, score also as II, 7.)

IV. Success, Status

Values success (monetary, career, social) and desires respect prestige, higher social status. Values work, education. Plans, thinks about, tries for a better future. Shows motivation to succeed.

1. Fails: Sees self or others as failure. (Implies presence of some aspirations that have not been achieved.) Failure may be in work, family life, social status, ability, education, etc. Loses job, family. Loses home because can't pay rent, etc.

2. Envies: Envies others' better job, higher social rank, etc. Aspires to be like them or to have what they have.

3. Desires social prestige, recognition: Would like to be admired and respected by community, fellow workers, family. Would like prestige, recognition. Would like to be in higher social class, a "good" neighborhood. Wants to be considered equal to others.

4. Values education: Sees education as a good thing; places importance on getting one. Plans for or works at getting an education. Reads books to improve himself. Considers education a way to upward mobility.

5. Values work: Thinks hard work is a virtue. Believes the way to get ahead is to work hard. Likes to work. Finds work interesting. Thinks workers should try to do their best.

6. Seeks improvement: Tries to get better job, more education, better living conditions. Thinks about, plans for better future (or child's future). Wants things better for children.

7. Is ambitious: Is willing to work hard for desired improvements in status, income, job position. Has goal of advancement. Motivated to succeed, according to statements, actions described. Puts real effort into getting ahead. Sees others succeeding, "winning" in contests, etc.

Illustrations

IV. Success, Status

1. Fails . . .

   He lost his job and his family. He thinks that he is poor provider for his family.

   Her husband lost his job.

   They had it (exam) once but failed and was given another chance.

   He becomes a first class bum. (Also XII, 1)

2. Envies . . .

   He's probably thinking how it would be if he could observe (i.e., not work) like the other men are.

   Maybe the man digging the ditch should or could become the supervisor. (Also IX, 3)

   This man is thinking, why can't that be me giving orders instead of using this shovel. (Also IX, 3)

3. Desires social status . . .

   The son will be a teacher or a doctor.

4. Values education . . .

   I think he should study and continue to study if he wants to be a success. (Also IV, 7)

   Man reading a book in a library. He would like to make himself better prepared. (Also IV, 6)

   The digger wants an education so he can get a better job. (Also IV, 6)

   The boy will go to college after he finishes high school.

   Education will mean more than work does now.

   Academic achievement (is being wanted).

5. Values work . . .

   They should be at work and not goldbricking. (Also XV, 3)

   The people working should do the best that they know how so that the building could be used for a long time.

   I think the man should concentrate on his work instead of paying any attention to the woman or other temptations. (Also XV, 3)

   They should get a job and go to work and stay out of bad places. (Also XV, 3)

   Should concentrate on work not pleasure. (Also XV, 3)

6. Seeks improvement . . .

   Keep on pushing forward and don't give up. (Also VII, 3)

   The son ought to try to better himself if he can.

   Move on out into better home and areas.

   I think they should move and think in terms of bettering the family. (Also VI, 1)

7. Is ambitious . . .

After he gets a job he should advance himself.
Work a little harder at what he's doing and later succeed.
(Also VII, 3)

V. Cognition

Uses rationality, intelligence, thought, discussion, planning. Values reason, reasonableness.

1. Thinks, reflects, analyzes: Thinks about problem, situation. Wonders how to go about something. Reconsiders (thinks things over). Thinks about how to get ahead, etc. Tries to figure out elements, factors, cause of difficulties. Examines situation carefully. Considers alternatives. Weighs choices.

2. Discusses, negotiates, talks over: Thinks things should be talked over. Wants to reason with others. Is willing to negotiate, compromise. Discusses a problem.

3. Problem-solves, plans, investigates: Plans or takes actual steps to solve problem in constructive way. Actually does, or plans to do, something that will change situation for the better. Plans, prepares for the future. Tries to get more information, sources of help, new ideas for handling situation. Seeks advice, suggestions, professional consultation.

Illustrations

V. Cognition

1. Thinks, reflects, analyzes . . .
    - He ought to stop and give it complete thoughts.
    - She is thinking about her baby's future.
    - He is trying to come to a decision as to what alternatives to choose.
    - He should analyze this thing fully before any action.
    - He will read that paragraph and try to figure out why the situation went as it did.

2. Discusses, negotiates . . .
    - If they sit down and discuss the situation, they might come to agree on a definite answer. (Also Uncertainty, 67)
    - They should try to reason with each other.
    - They should compromise.
    - Why fight; try talking the matter over.
    - They should talk more freely to each other.
    - He should talk it over with his boss and let them come to an agreement.
    - They should stop fighting and talk to understand each other.

3. Problem-solves, plans, investigates . . .
    - The child's mother should plan and prepare his future now. (Also I, 3)
    - We should see a psychiatrist.
    - He should talk it over with his minister. (Also XV, 1)
    - He ought to talk over his problems with a close friend of his, or pastor, or anyone. (Also I, 2; XV, 1)

Definitions

VI. Stimulation

Likes new things, experiences, change, novelty, excitement. Is willing to make a change (in living place, job, etc.).

1. Seeks change, excitement, novelty: Desires or plans to change jobs, living arrangements, geographic location, family situation, etc. Would like to go away to a new place. Seeks adventure, exciting activities. Likes new and different things, situations, experiences. Likes to experiment with new things or new ways of doing things. Is bored.

Illustrations

VI. Stimulation

1. Seeks change, excitement, novelty . . .
    - Man at work--he's not very interested in the job now because of bar nearby. (Also VIII, 1)
    - He was thinking how dull this Wednesday was until he started working two blocks up.
    - They will be living in a new neighborhood soon.
    - He is thinking about leaving the community. (Also XIII, 5)
    - Each young man had a thrilling experience the night before.

Definitions

VII. Discipline

Believes in controlled use of self to accomplish goals.

1. Starts over: Tries to "start a new life." Plans to change direction of life.

2. Endures, plods, perseveres, is self-controlled: Keeps plugging along (at work or in other areas of life), doing the necessary to survive. Persists, despite hardship, discomfort, or other attractions. Is a plodding worker. Continues at task. Excercises restraint in behavior. Is not impulsive in actions, judgments. Defers gratifications; postpones immediate pleasures in favor of long-range goals, such as job security, success, family life, etc.

3. Intensifies, exerts more effort: Tries harder. Mobilizes own ability or doubles efforts to get along or improve conditions. Shows determination, firm resolve to accomplish goals by own efforts.

Illustrations

VII. Discipline

1. Starts over . . .
    They will have to start new some place else.
    She will find a job, find a baby sitter and try to start a new life with her daughter. (Also XI, 1)

2. Endures, plods, is self-controlled . . .
    The man will continue to do this type of work, from one job to another, and never get an education. (Also IV, 4; XII, 1)
    Keep on waiting, the doctor will be with you in a moment.
    He will continue to work.
    Be persistent.
    The lady had worked hard all of her life and still could not make ends meet.
    He will have to work the afternoon, but in the evening after he washes up and has changed clothes he will accidentally run into the girl. (Also VIII, 1; X, 4)
    The person should probably have walked or taken a good shower and he might be better.
    I think he will continue to work until break time.

3. Intensifies, exerts more effort . . .
    She should try for herself and if things don't work out, then ask for help. (Also III, 2)
    They should try to become self-supporting because otherwise they are doomed.
    If he works at it hard enough, he will get it.

Definitions

VIII. Hedonism

Believes in living for present pleasures and satisfactions instead of working and planning for distant goals. Lives for the moment. Avoids work.

1. Seeks pleasure, self-indulgence: Looks for enjoyment, fun, a good time. Has sexual designs on someone (not hostilely). Wants a "drink." Seeks immediate gratification. Is not willing to postpone pleasure, play, fun, acquiring things one can't afford, etc., in favor of long-range goals and achievements. Does not exercise much self-control.
2. Neglects work, responsibilities: Lacks interest in work, success, acquisition. Has no ambition. Has no interest in improving himself or his situation. Is satisfied, complacent. Doesn't think work worth the effort; wants to enjoy himself and forget it. Is willing to neglect work and other obligations (such as family) in order to have a good time, indulge himself. Fails to take responsibility. Is shiftless.

Illustrations

VIII. Hedonism

1. Seeks pleasure, self-indulgence . . .
   They is having a good time at bar.
   A good time (is wanted).
   The people would say party when you want but don't forget about your work. (Also IV, 5)
   They likes to party.
   They will get smashed (drunk).
   He should take a break (from work).

2. Neglects work, responsibilities . . .
   This person should go get a drink (leave his work).
   He will probably go inside and have a few drinks (leave work).
   This man who is working so hard should go get drunk.
   This guy is going to play golf when he should be working. His family will suffer because he is not working. This person should be out looking for work instead of looking for pleasure. (Also IV, 5; XV, 3)

Definitions

IX. Autonomy

Desires independence, right to self-determination, freedom to choose and act. Prefers superordinate to subordinate position.

1. Resents compulsion: Dislikes being coerced or controlled. Doesn't want to be forced to do anything. Wants to do "his own thing." Lacks respect for authority figures.

2. Fights for rights: Takes an active, aggressive stand for his own freedom and rights. Thinks people should fight back, instead of remaining oppressed or dominated. Is active, militant, in getting what is believed his (hers) by right, as opposed to the more passive resistance of above.

3. Is dominating: Shows desire to be in superior position to others. Would like to be "boss" over others, give orders, to be in charge. Character makes things happen in his life (instead of being passively affected by what happens to him). Wishes to control others. Wants own way strongly without compromise or regard to others' rights and feelings.

Illustrations

IX. Autonomy

1. Resents compulsion . . .

    He looks as though he was made to do the work by force.

    The police always ran all the kids off the block about 11:00, when they weren't ready to go home. We ought to jump on him, he thinks he's bad with his billy club. You can't even trust a police any more. (Also XII, 2; XII, 5)

    The policeman should find something better to do than antagonize its honest law-abiding citizens.

    The father is making the boy study. He didn't want to study.

    The people will probably talk trash to the cops. (Also XII, 3)

2. Fights for rights . . .

    This person ought to stand out for his freedom.

3. Is dominating . . .

    Laborer wants to be foreman.

    One wants his own personal way.

    He is thinking he'd like to make them work hard like they've made him.

Definitions

X. Deference

Is willing to submit to others. Shows compliance, obedience, humility. Has great respect for authority figures. Tends toward dependency.

1. Respects, obeys authority: Shows respect, awe, fear of authority figures (police, officials, teachers, parents, bosses, etc.). Believes people should be obedient to superiors. Conforms to custom.

2. Feels inferior: Sees self in lower status, not as "good" as others. Is in subordinate position. Does not feel respected; wants respect. Does not feel adequate.

3. Is dependent, submissive: Relies heavily on others' judgment, help, taking care of things for him. Does not feel able to handle things for himself. Looks to others to solve his problems with little effort on his own part. Shows great willingness to bow to others' wishes, judgments. Obeys blindly; does what he is told without question. Does not stand up for his rights. Lets others make decisions. Submits to restraint, coercion, persuasion, or seduction. Is acquiescent.

4. Is fatalistic: Believes man's destiny is determined by some outside force over which humans have little or no control. Attributes events to good or bad luck. "What will be, will be." Things "accidentally" happen to people.

Illustrations

X Deference

1. Respects authority . . .

   Leave it to higher authorities.
   Obey and they will be happy.
   She should let the law handle it.

2. Feels inferior . . .

   He looks like a slave.
   He is thinking what it's like to be poor and especially black.

3. Is dependent, submissive . . .

   He wants someone to tell him how to get help. He will probably have a nervous breakdown over the idea.
   A lady is hoping that the caseworker gives her a large amount of money. (Also III, 2)
   This person should ask (the agency) for more money. (Also III, 2)
   Someone will find them some place to live.
   Do what the man ask, things will go better.
   He will do like his father want.
   The head man seems to be giving instruction and the other man is waiting to follow.

4. Is fatalistic . . .

   Fate will work the situation out.
   Leave it to God's will.
   She has probably had some bad luck.
   They will accidentally meet later.

XI. Trust

Has confidence in other people. Views the world as a basically helpful, supportive environment. Expects some good out of life. Makes happy endings to stories. Expects help and is willing to help and cooperate.

1. Is optimistic, cheerful, expects help: Sees happy ending to story. Has hope things will improve, help will be given, etc. Looks on brighter side of life. Sees some good in people. Takes life as it comes without complaint. Sees positive or pleasant things in pictures. Believes everything will turn out for the best, people will get what they are seeking, things will improve.

2. Is cooperative, willing to help: Shows willingness to help others. Thinks people should work together, cooperate.

Illustrations

XI. Trust

1. Is optimistic, cheerful . . .

    The lady will receive a welfare check for herself and her kids. She will also receive food. (Also III, 2)

    The woman will get more help.

    Sooner or later they will be doing a lot better for themselves.

    One day laborer will be foreman. (Also IX, 3)

    They will kiss and make up. (Also I, 3)

2. Is cooperative, willing to help . . .

    (They should) work together, get along, and be good neighbors. (Also I, 2)

Definitions

XII. Distrust

Lacks confidence in good intentions of others, in good outcomes. Sees unhappy endings to stories. Sees world as basically hostile environment. Expects little good out of life, bad motives in others. Is hostile, aggressive (in unfriendly sense), suspicious. Believes you have to take advantage of people, since they will surely take advantage of you.

1. Is pessimistic: Doubts things will turn out well. Has negative or unhappy ending to story: persons do not succeed, do what is expected or desired, etc. Looks on the "dark" side of life.

2. Is cynical, suspicious: Shows a very skeptical attitude. Has strong doubts about people's motives; expects the worst from people. Interprets people's behavior in worst light. Actively distrusts people; suspects people are out to get him, hurt him. Sees strife present in relationships. (These are usually expressed not directly, but in actions ascribed to people.)

3. Quarrels, argues, calls names: Shows verbal disagreement between characters (of a hostile sort). Curses, accuses, criticizes, calls names, ridicules, nags.

4. Acts sly, cunning, deceitful: Uses unscrupulous methods to get what he wants or to "beat the system." Cheats, takes advantage of people. Is sneaky. Thinks you have to get around people by outsmarting them, when their backs are turned. Is deceitful, furtive, or thinks about it.

5. Attacks physically: Is physically aggressive against someone. Fights with another. Hits, beats, strikes, injures someone physically--or thinks of doing so. Shows violent inclinations, fantasies, action. People get hurt.

6. Suicides: Plans to, thinks about, decides to, or does kill himself, or thinks someone will or should.

7. Kills: Considers, plans to, decides to, or does kill someone else, or sees others planning to, or thinks they should. Murders. Sees people dying.

Illustrations

XII. Distrust

1. Is pessimistic . . .

The child will probably grow up and the same process will be repeated (poor conditions).

The boy (who is trying to read a book) will finally go (with his friend) because if he doesn't he still won't accomplish his work because his friend will be nagging him. (Also I, 2; XII, 3)

She may get help too late.

She and her children will starve to death.

2. Is cynical, suspicious . . .

He is out for trouble.

He might get into mischief.

He will get caught and put in jail.

The lady should have him arrested for assualt and battery. (Also II, 5)

They will probably speak vulgar language to the police and start a disturbance, and they will be put in jail. (Also XII, 3)

They would think that he is a murderer and a killer. (Also XII, 7)

3. Quarrels, argues . . .

A discussion--not a good one.

They would call this lady a Jezebel and would say the man is a weakling.

He is thinking dirty thoughts about the lady as a result of her insults.

The people in the neighborhood said they do it all the time--fuss and fight.

They probably would call him all sort of indecent names.

4. Sly . . .

Men are supposed to be working, but his foreman has his back turned and I think he is resting. If he will rest while they have their back turned, they will fire him; they can't trust him. (Also XV, 3)

A man is pretending as if he is drilling a hole.

This man ought to take an underground passage to freedom, get plastic surgery and spend his money (stolen). (Also VIII, 2; XIII, 5)

The black man seems to be trying to figure out a way to get out of the work. (Also XIV, 1)

She hopes they will take the baby (away from her) but she wants to look distressed. (Also II, 5)

5. Attacks physically . . .
   - I think he wants to start a fight.
   - They should fight and talk later.
   - She ought to fight back.

6. Commits suicide . . .
   - Thinking about suicide. (Also V, 1)
   - He had a problem which was worrying him and the only way he could settle it was by committing suicide. (Also XIII, 3)
   - She wants to shoot herself and her baby so they will not live in misery.
   - He should shoot himself.

7. Kills . . .
   - The man is reading the newspaper about his daughter being killed.
   - The man is thinking of killing his friend himself. (Also V, 1)
   - They will kill one another.

XIII. Insecurity, Defeat

Is uncertain, anxious, discouraged, escapist, giving up, resigned, despairing, unhappy, sick, lacking sense of power.

1. Is discouraged, unhappy, hurt: Expresses discouragement, disappointment. Is unhappy, downhearted, disgusted. Feels hurt, bitter.

2. Feels powerless: Considers himself the victim of circumstances which are not within his power to change. Others seem to control his destiny. Can't fight back. Feels rejected, turned down, turned away. Lacks what is needed to live, succeed, be happy; lacks opportunity.

3. Shows anxiety: Feels very insecure. Is worried, fearful, distraught, desperate, disturbed. Is sick. Doesn't feel safe. Feels full of despair. Is depressed, lonely, abandoned. Wants peace of mind. (May be generalized, not necessarily specific.)

4. Fatigues: Is weary, wants rest. Work is too hard. Wants release from situation, work, problem.

5. Discontinues, flees: Gives up, quits. Stops trying. (Quits job, gives up trying to make marriage work, etc.) Shows resignation. Sees no point in making effort. Is apathetic. Wants to get away, leave situation, leave town. Takes flight or thinks or running or hiding.

Illustrations

XIII. Insecurity, Defeat

1. Is discouraged . . .
    - It appears that he's been discouraged.
    - He has been through bitter disappointment.

2. Feels powerless . . .
    - There is nothing the farmer can do.
    - I don't see anything he can do because he is alone. The other men could overpower him. (Also XII, 2)
    - She is doing the only thing she can do.
    - The man has to do what is necessary--what he has to do.
    - The boy is thinking what good will it do him. (Also XIV, 3)

3. Shows anxiety . . .
    - He's worried.
    - A poor lady and baby stricken down by poverty.
    - He is very despondent and is thinking of doing something to himself. (Also XII, 6)
    - He wants freedom from worry and safety.
    - The mother and child look lost and afraid and hungry. (Also III, 1)
    - A man seems troubled.
    - Her husband left her with 5 or 6 kids and she's not able to work. (Also II, 5)
    - She had the baby and she is an unwed mother. She is lonely because the father has left her and the child alone. (Also II, 5)
    - Wants someone to care for him; he looks lonely.
    - Who will keep and take care of the baby?

4. Fatigues . . .
    - The man is resting from hard labor work.
    - I have worked too hard today to try to make out such a crazy picture.
    - He wants to stop and rest; he is tired of digging.

5. Discontinues, flees . . .
    - I think he ought to stop, he is not getting anything for his work.
    - He's thinking about quitting.
    - The boy dropped out of school because of his father's pressuring him all the time about his books. He didn't want to go to school anyway.
    - He will quit and probably do nothing. (Also XII, 1)
    - He ought to quit.
    - He is thinking of a way to leave the country. He ought to wait until night and make a run for it and keep the money. (Also III, 4; XII, 4)
    - The two guys want to run.
    - I think she should leave him alone and go home. Leave him.
    - She should run.

Definitions

XIV. Race, Ethnicity

Is conscious of ethnic, racial differences. May range from awareness or group identification to strong prejudice and group conflict. Racial or ethnic factor should be clearly identified or implied in story context.

1. Identifies race: Mentions race, identifies characters racially, with no qualifying comment.

2. Emulates: Envies members of another race. Wishes to have what they have, to be like them, or to be in their position.

3. Sees oppression: Believes members of ethnic group are so disadvantaged that they cannot advance or succeed because of oppression by another group. Feels unable to change social situation because of discrimination. Thinks group unfairly treated. Talks about "equal opportunities," etc.

4. Shows race pride, admiration, nationalism: Identifies character racially and shows approval or admiration for the race. Thinks of ways to advance racial group's condition. Shows determination to improve things for a race. Shows interest in keeping races separate, in promoting special interests of racial group at the expense of others.

5. Hates, resents, is angry: Feels strong dislike, animosity, rage about members of another race. Antipathy, resentment shown. Shows prejudice against another group. (Distinguish between racial anger and generalized anger of II, 4.)

6. Is conflictive: Feels other ethnic group must be resisted, fought against, struggled with in general. Shows open and hostile aggression on racial grounds. Wants organized resistance. Takes or wishes to take destructive action against members of another ethnic group. Wants to hurt, fight, kill, get revenge. Wants revolt or revolution, or hints that it will come. (Distinguish between racially oriented violence and that of XII, 5, which is not identified as racial or in the context of racial complaints.)

Illustrations

XIV. Race, Ethnicity

1. Identifies race . . .
   - A black mother holding her baby.
   - A black man is working while some white men are going around surveying.
   - The Negro has been chosen to dig dirt to place pipes.
   - A black boy is reading a book.
2. Emulates . . .
   - The black man is oppressed by wishful thinking and he wants to be in the position that the white men are in. (Also XIV, 3)
   - The Negro wants to do as the other two fellows are doing (nothing).
3. Sees oppression . . .
   - The black man is doing hard labor for the white man and is very tired. (Also XIII, 4)
   - She thinks a great injustice is being done.
   - He is trying to put an end to black servitude. (Also IX, 2)
   - He probably had a hard time in this world being poor, uneducated, and most of all--black.
   - He should go and find another job that has equal opportunity.
4. Shows race pride . . .
   - If they are Uncle Toms they will tell him he better be glad he got a job and that he can't live without the white man's help. But if they are true Americans, with beliefs of freedom and liberty, they will provoke him to go as far as he can and more. (Also IV, 6; IX, 2)
5. Hates, resents . . .
   - The Negro man is thinking if he was a foreman, he would work the white man as they have worked him. (Also IX, 3)
6. Is conflictive . . .
   - There will probably be a revolt.
   - They should start a revolution.
   - They should burn it (house) down and (the landlord) too.
   - They think he should tear up the store and the man.

Definitions

XV. Moralism

Has tendency to see things in moralistic terms: good or evil, decent and indecent, etc. Judges what other people "should" or "ought" to do. Defers to supernatural figures and their earthly representatives (clergy, Bible, etc.). Refers to religion as source of rightness. Is preoccupied with moral uprightness, virtue--or with "badness," sinfulness. Speaks of punishment.

1. Reveres religious figures: Mentions or invokes supernatural powers. Respects authority of clergy. Seeks counsel and advice of clergy. Sees Bible as ultimate authority.

2. Feels guilt: Shows or expresses feelings of guilt, of having committed a sin or wrongdoing. Is penitent, contrite, or remorseful. Is ashamed. Regrets; is sorry for having done something. Blames himself. (Or attributes these to others, or believes others should feel this way.)

3. Is concerned with morality, judges others: Expresses sense of duty to behave properly, honestly, uprightly, decently, or shows preoccupation with being concerned with these. Critically condemns others for being sinful, immoral, bad, wicked. Disapproves others' conduct. Expresses what others should do. Sees people getting retribution for their sins or evil ways. Thinks people will or should be arrested, punished. Is punitive, unforgiving, unsympathetic.

Illustrations

XV. Moralism

1. Reveres religious figures . . .

   He should stop reading about crimes and read the Bible more.

   I think the man should let the church know of his condition and ask for help. (Also III, 2)

   He made it, with his mother's faith in God.

   He should go and talk to his minister. (Also V, 3)

   He is reading the Bible. He didn't believe in the Bible.

   He was sinner. He want to be safe and live for Christ. (Also XIII, 3; XV, 3)

2. Feels guilt . . .

   Forget or try to forget her past.

   Don't do anything he would be sorry for.

3. Is concerned with morality, judges others . . .

   The Welfare will not give it back until they do right. This person should go back Home and clean up the mess and stop the fuss.

   The black man dies and the white man buys his land but he can't grow anything there (retribution). (Also XIV, 1; XII, 1)

   They should be working. (Also IV, 5)

   The man should pay his bills. (Also III, 3)

   They ought to pay their rent. (The community) probably would not have any sympathy for them. (Also II, 4)

   If he has been (late to work before) then I would fire him. (Also IV, 5)

   He should go on and take his punishment.

   He is very bad.

   The man or woman might have caught the other doing something wrong. Like being with the opposite sex. (Also II, 5; XII, 2)

   Don't take him (husband) back. Have him up (arrested). (Also II. 5)

The Value Orientation Test Pictures

Relevant Value Orientations and Responses

Picture A: This picture taps several variables. The work ethic and achievement motive; desire for upward vertical mobility; attitudes toward higher education; class hostility and estrangement; slyness and cunning, and racial resentments are among those most frequently expressed.

Picture B: Recent data show that a relatively high proportion of the homes of the poor are characterized by instability. Physical abuse is common. Permanent male figures may be rare. Yet the leadership of American society is male dominated. This picture attempts to probe the respondent's perception of male-female relationships and his values about them.

Picture C: This sketch is designed to measure normlessness (in the sense of unethical behavior), powerlessness, and self-estrangement. It may also reflect anomie (in the sense of personal demoralization, utter helplessness, and discouragement).

Picture D: Welfare services and other forms of governmental aid are part of the daily life of the poor. This sketch was designed to measure respondents' attitudes toward governmental or bureaucratic activities. It may elicit responses pertinent to helplessness, isolation, and resentment.

Picture E: Resignation, fatalism, and estrangement from society are often seen in this picture. Alcholism frequently appears as a response. Attitudes toward work may be elicited.

Picture F: The instability of the living arrangements of the poor has often been noted. This sketch may reveal attitudes toward geographical mobility. Insecurity and the uncertain quality of living is also reflected: eviction or the repossession of furniture are frequent responses. Attitudes toward payment of bills or toward saving and planning may be expressed, as well as a desire for upward mobility in the form of better housing or a nicer neighborhood. Other responses may indicate hostility toward landlords or merchants, and resignation or despair may be shown.

Picture G: Tendencies toward immediate or deferred gratification are usually revealed by this sketch. Attitudes toward work and toward relations between the sexes are also frequently expressed in responses.

Picture H: This picture is intended to evoke reactions to authority figures. Autonomy or submissiveness are commonly shown. Anger, resistance, and suspicion toward "establishment" representatives often appear. Moralism may be expressed.

Picture I: The valuing of education as a developmental process and as a means to upward mobility is probed by this sketch. Other relevant responses are deferred vs. immediate gratification and attitudes toward authority figures.

Picture K: This picture was designed to measure alienation: "It's foolish to bring children into this cruel world," for example. In addition, it often exposes feelings about relations between the sexes and beliefs about child-rearing practices ("She'll spoil him by holding him," e.g.)

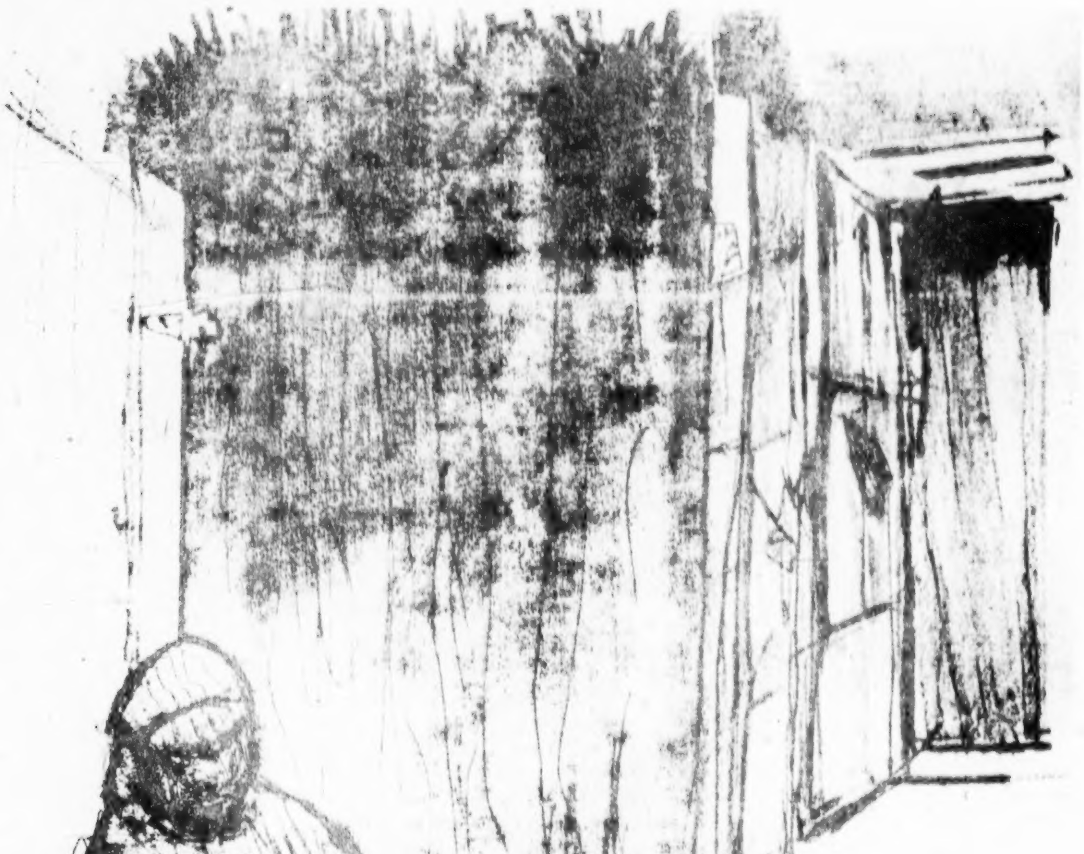
Picture L: The desire for acquisition of goods and services and a need for credit are common responses to this picture. Attitudes toward the business community are frequently expressed as a form of alientation. Rejection and discouragement, a sense of powerlessness and dependency are also tapped. Attitudes toward work may be reflected.

A

B

C

COLOR DENSITY GUIDE



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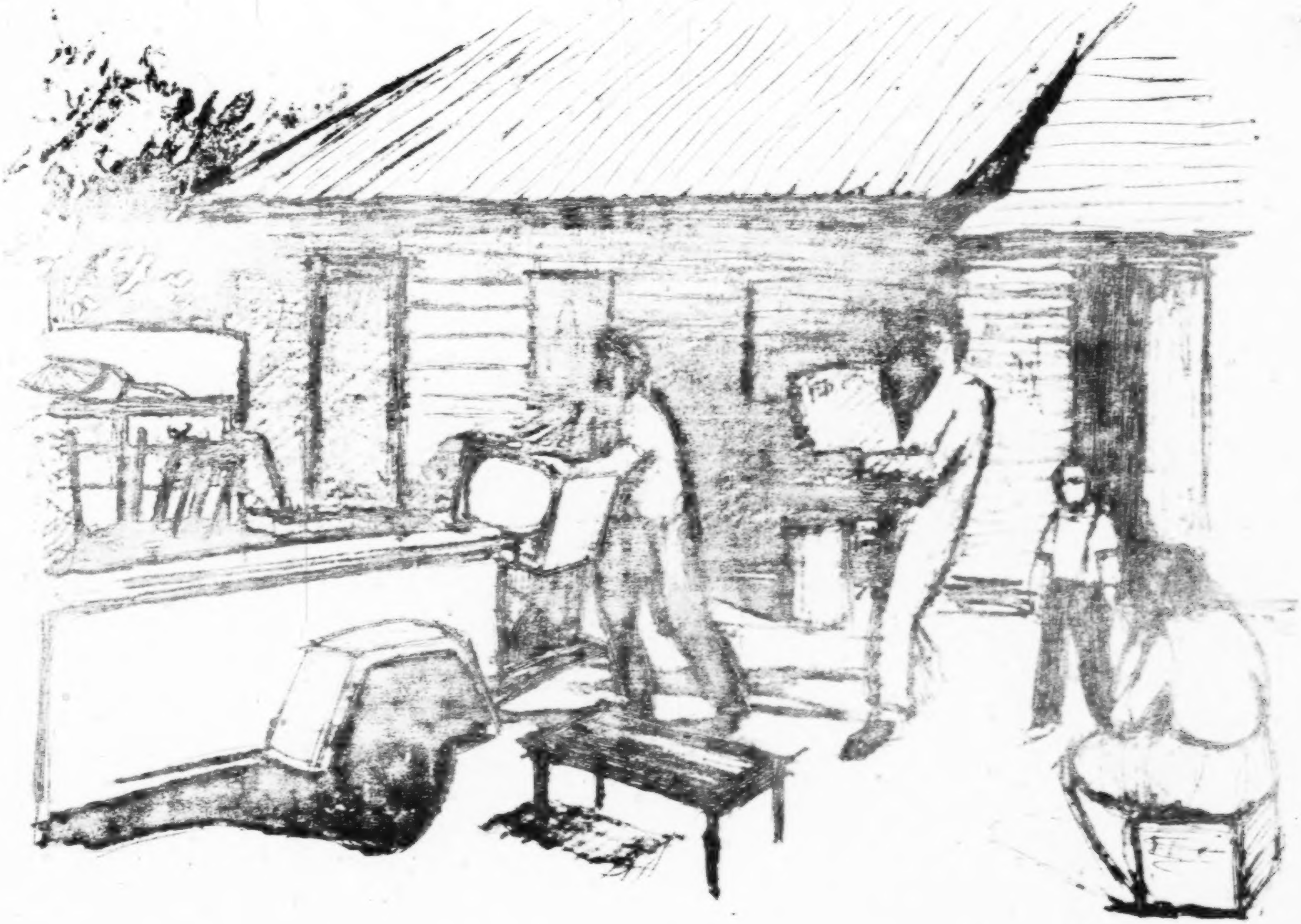

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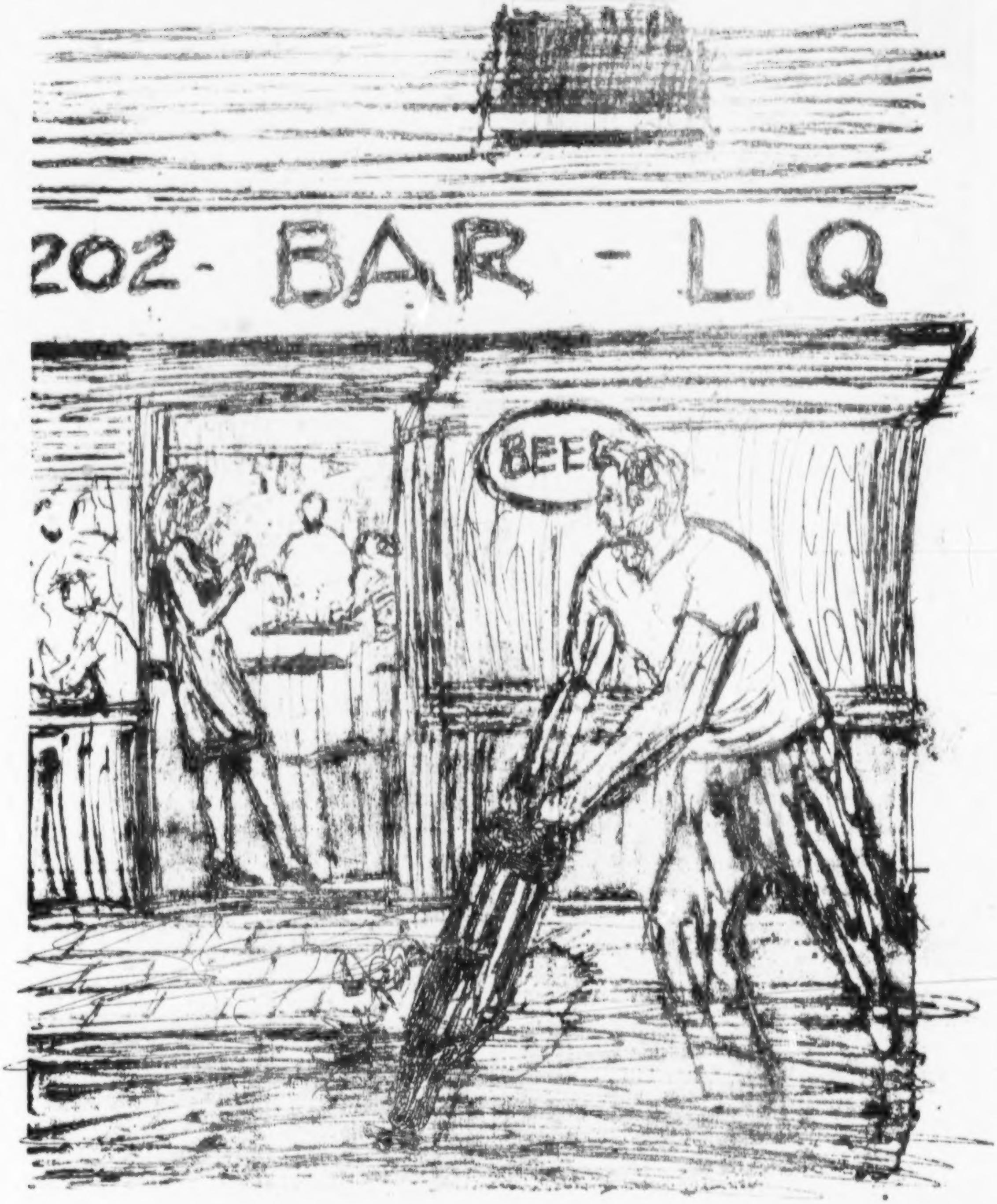
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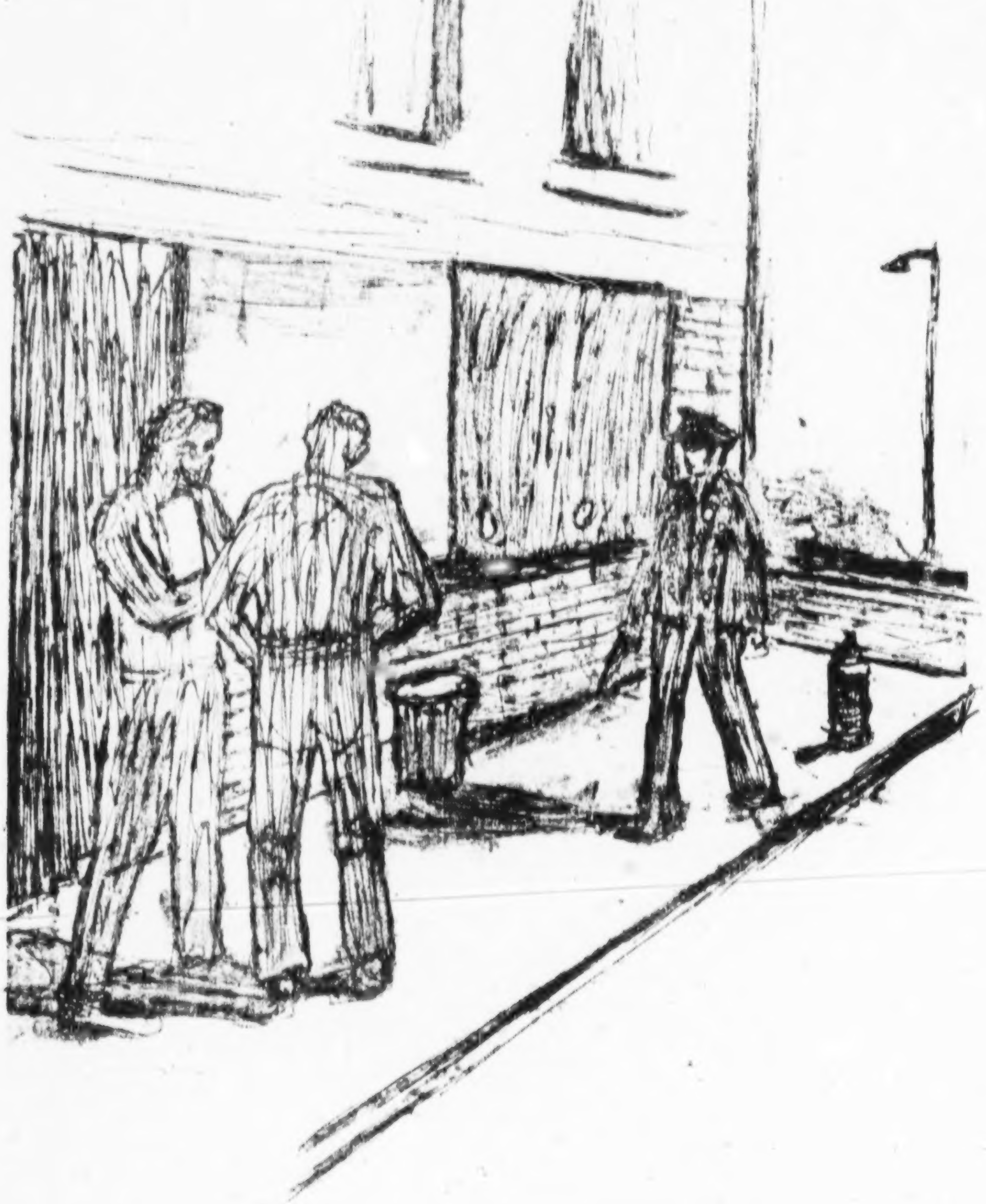

COLOR DENSITY GUIDE

H

K

L

Norms

Scores on any test can be interpreted only by reference to norms. The VOT has been standardized on specifically defined populations. When subjects are asked to write a story in five minutes about an ambiguous picture, it is to be expected that they will vary widely in the amount of material they produce. Such production depends on a number of factors, including imagination, motivation, and the amount of fantasy the subject is able to indulge. Verbal facility is another factor. Unlike some scoring systems, however, the VOT scoring does not look for "literary quality," as this would defeat its purpose, which is to test low-income populations primarily. Such groups are presumably handicapped in producing works of literary quality. Space has been allowed to score separately such things as imagination, verbal facility, superficiality, etc., in the expectation that these would be qualities of interest to training staffs.

Murray (TAT Manual) suggests that stories less than 140 words in length are not worth scoring for the TAT. Such a norm is totally unrealistic for the disadvantaged population on which this test was standardized. Table 1 shows the norms for story length for five low-income groups: black Americans (predominantly southern urban), American Indians, Spanish-American, Minnesota whites (predominantly rural), and middle-class white students attending a southern university.

The range in Table 1 refers to the range of number of words per story among the respondents in that group. Subjects individually tended to cluster rather closely around their own mean. For one subject, e.g., stories for each of the 11 pictures shown had the following number of words: 41, 39, 30, 29, 36, 30, 29, 33, 29, with a mean of 32.5 words per story.

Table 1. Average Number of Words per Story for Five Groups

Group	N	Mean	Range
Black Americans	(40)	55.7	6-131
Indian Americans	(24)	60.3	10-160
Spanish-Americans	(24)	43.0	14- 97
Minnesota Whites	(24)	26.7	2-103
Middle-Class Students	(12)	61.2	17-122

The number of items checked on a scoring sheet reveals scorers' perceptions, as well as subjects' responses, of course. Nevertheless, the norms for these, as found in preliminary administration of the VOT may be useful. Table 2 shows the number of items checked on a sample of the protocols by value orientation (not the weighted scores).

Table 2. Mean Number of Items Checked by Scorers, by Value Orientation, for Black Americans

Value Orientations	Mean	Range
Affiliation	8.0	1-13
Social estrangement	6.1	1-11
Success-status	4.2	1- 9
Acquisition	2.9	0- 8
Cognition	2.1	0- 5
Stimulation	.15	0- 2
Discipline	1.2	0- 4
Hedonism	1.5	0- 3
Autonomy	.76	0- 4
Deference	.85	0- 4
Trust	2.5	0-12
Distrust	7.5	1-18
Insecurity-defeat	5.6	0-10
Race-ethnicity	.94	0- 8
Morality	3.2	0- 7
(N = 34)		

Story-Telling Form

Respondent's Name ______________________________ Card Set Two

Schedule # ______________________________

Study # ______________________________ Picture # __________

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO SHOW YOU A FEW PICTURES AND HAVE YOU TELL US WHAT THEY MEAN TO YOU. THESE PICTURES ARE BEING SHOWN TO PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. USE YOUR IMAGINATION AND TELL A STORY ABOUT EACH PICTURE.

1. Tell what is happening.

2. Tell what happened before.

3. Tell what is being thought or wanted.

4. Tell what will happen.

5. Tell what you think this person/s ought to do.

6. Tell what you think most of the people in this community would say this person/s ought to do.

Scorer________________ SCORING FORM Schedule________________ (Rev.)

VARIABLES			RESPONSE SCORES										
Value Orientations	Value Score	RESPONSES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
I. Affiliation	7	1. Shares community's values, norms			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
	2	2. Affiliated with others				✓							
	6	3. Positive view of family, sex			✓			✓					
		4. Feels responsibility for community											
Total	15				4	3		4	1		1	1	1
II. Social Estrangement	4	1. Disagrees with story characters			✓				✓		✓	✓	
	6	2. Avoids involvement			✓					✓	✓		
		3. Disagrees with community											
	8	4. Shows generalized anger, resentment	✓							✓			
		5. Views family, sex negatively											
	24	6. Commits crime		✓					✓		✓	✓	
		7. Lacks norms (anomie)											
Total	42		4	6	3				7	6	7	7	
III. Acquisition	3	1. Seeks money, material goods, food				✓		✓		✓			
		2. Wants help in getting things											
		3. Shrewd											
	4	4. Steals											
Total	7					1		1		1			

Scorer____________________ SCORING FORM Schedule____________________

VARIABLES Value Orientations	Value Score	RESPONSES	RESPONSE SCORES A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
IV. Success, Status	1	1. Fails	✓										
		2. Envies											
	3	3. Desires social status		✓									
	4	4. Values education	✓										
		5. Values work											
	12	6. Seeks improvement	✓					✓					
		7. Ambitious											
Total	20		11	3				6					
V. Cognition		1. Thinks, reflects, analyzes											
		2. Discusses, negotiates, talks over											
	12	3. Problem-solves, plans, investigates	✓		✓	✓		✓					
Total	12		3		3	3		3					
VI. Stimulation	1	1. Seeks change, excitement, novelty						✓					
Total	1							1					

Scorer___________ SCORING FORM Schedule___________

VARIABLES			RESPONSE SCORES										
Value Orientations	Value Score	RESPONSES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
VII. Discipline		1. Starts over											
	4	2. Endures, plods, self-controlled	✓							✓			
	6	3. Intensifies, exerts more effort				✓							✓
Total	10		2			3				2			3
VIII. Hedonism	4	1. Seeks pleasure, self-indulgence			✓				✓	✓		✓	
	2	2. Neglects work, responsibilities										✓	
Total	6				1				1	1		3	
IX. Autonomy	1	1. Resents compulsion								✓			
		2. Fights for rights											
		3. Dominating											
Total	1									1			
X. Deference		1. Respects, obeys authority											
	2	2. Feels inferior		✓									
	3	3. Dependent, submissive				✓							
		4. Is fatalistic											
Total	5			2		3							

Scorer________________ SCORING FORM Schedule________________

VARIABLES			RESPONSE SCORES										
Value Orientations	Value Score	RESPONSES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
XI. Trust	2	1. Optimistic, cheerful, expects help				✓		✓					
	2	2. Cooperative, willing to help										✓	
Total	4					1		1				2	
XII. Distrust	5	1. Pessimistic	✓		✓						✓	✓	✓
	4	2. Cynical, suspicious							✓			✓	
	3	3. Quarrels, argues, calls names		✓									
	4	4. Acts sly, cunning, deceitful										✓	
	5	5. Attacks physically, violent		✓									
	6	6. Commits suicide			✓								
	7	7. Kills									✓		
Total	34		1	8	7				2		8	7	1
XIII. Insecurity, Defeat	3	1. Discouraged, unhappy			✓				✓				✓
	4	2. Feels powerless		✓									✓
	3	3. Shows anxiety								✓			
	4	4. Fatigues	✓										
		5. Discontinues, flees											
Total	14		4	2		1			1	3			3

Scorer________________ SCORING FORM Schedule________________

VARIABLES							RESPONSE SCORES						
Value Orientations	Value Score	RESPONSES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
XIV. Race Ethnicity		1. Identifies race											
		2. Emulates											
		3. Sees oppression											
		4. Shows race pride or approval											
		5. Hates, resents											
		6. Conflictive											
Total	0												
XV. Moralism	1	1. Reveres religious figures									✓		
	2	2. Feels guilt		✓									
	12	3. Concerned with morality, judges others		✓	✓				✓			✓	
Total	15			5	3				3		1	3	

Scorer____________________

Schedule____________________

GENERAL ATTRIBUTES OF PROTOCOL[1]

Attribute	Score
62. Imagination	3
63. Verbal facility	3
64. Coherence	3
65. Uncertainty, doubt, ambivalence	/
66. Superficiality	/
67. Unusual perception	3

[1] Score 3 for High; 2 for Moderate; 1 for Low.

PROFILE SUMMARY	SCORE
Affiliation, Trust	17
Success, Acquisition	27
Cognition, Discipline, Stimulation	23
Autonomy	1
Moralism	15
TOTAL	85
Estrangement, distrust	76
Deference, Insecurity	14
Hedonism	6
Race, ethnicity	0
TOTAL	101

Index of Responses

Abandoned. See *Insecurity*, XIII, 3.
Acceptance sought. See *Affiliation*, I, 2.
Accuses. See *Distrust*, XII, 3.
Acquiescent. See *Deference*, X, 3.
Admiration wanted. See *Success*, IV, 3.
Advance, wishes to. See *Success*, IV, 7.
Adventure sought. See *Stimulation*, VI, 1.
Advice sought. See *Cognition*, V, 3.
Aggression, racial. See *Race*, XIV, 6.
Ambition, lack of. See *Hedonism*, VIII, 2.
Ambition. See *Success*, IV, 7.
Analyzes. See *Cognition*, V, 1.
Anger about race. See *Race*, XIV, 5.
Animosity, racial. See *Race*, XIV, 5.
Anxiety. See *Insecurity*, XIII, 3.
Apathetic. See *Insecurity*, XIII, 5.
Argues. See *Distrust*, XII, 3.
Arrested (people are). See *Moralism*, XV, 3.
Ashamed. See *Moralism*, XV, 2.
Aspires to be like others. See *Success*, IV, 2.
Assaults. See *Distrust*, XII, 5.
Attacks physically. See *Distrust*, XII, 5.
Attention sought. See *Affiliation*, I, 2.
Authority, does not respect. See *Autonomy*, IX, 1.
Authority, respects. See *Deference*, X, 1.

Bad (evil). See *Moralism*, XV, 3.
Beats (physically). See *Distrust*, XII, 5.
Better job wanted. See *Success*, IV, 6.
Bible. See *Moralism*, XV, 1.
Bills not paid (willfully). See *Acquisition*, III, 3.
Books, reads. See *Success*, IV, 4.
Bored. See *Stimulation*, VI, 1.
Boss, wants to be. See *Autonomy*, IX, 3.

Chance. See *Deference*, X, 4.
Change sought. See *Stimulation*, VI, 1.
Changes direction of life. See *Discipline*, VII, 1.
Cheats. See *Distrust*, XII, 4.
Cheerful. See *Trust*, XI, 1.
Children, wants better things for. See *Success*, IV, 6.
Clergy. See *Moralism*, XV, 1.
Complacent (indifferent). See *Hedonism*, VIII, 2.
Compulsion, resents. See *Autonomy*, IX, 1.
Confident. See *Trust*, XI, 1.
Conflict, family. See *Social Estrangement*, II, 5.
Conflict, racial. See *Race*, XIV, 6.
Conflict, sexual. See *Social Estrangement*, II, 5.
Community values shared. See *Affiliation*, I, 1.

Compassion. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Compromise. See Cognition, V, 2.
Contrition. See Moralism, XV, 2.
Cooperative. See Trust, XI, 2.
Criticizes. See Distrust, XII, 3.
Cruelty. See Social Estrangement, II, 4.
Cunning. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Curses. See Distrust, XII, 3.
Cynical. See Distrust, XII, 2.

Danger played with. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Deceitful. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Decency. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Decisive. See Autonomy, IX, 3.
Defers gratification. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Dependency. See Deference, X, 3.
Depressed. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Despair. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Destiny. See Deference, X, 4.
Determination shown. See Discipline, VII, 3.
Disagrees with community. See Social Estrangement, II, 3.
Disagrees with story characters. See Social Estrangement,
II, 1.
Disappointed. See Insecurity, XII, 1.
Disapproval, moral. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Discouraged. See Insecurity, XIII, 1.
Discrimination. See Race, XIV, 3.
Discusses. See Cognition, V, 2.
Dishonest. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Discontinues. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Dislike, racial. See Race, XIV, 5.
Disturbed. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Dominant. See Autonomy, IX, 3.
Domineering. See Autonomy, IX, 3.
Doubts. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Downhearted. See Insecurity, XIII, 1.
Duty, sense of. See Moralism, XV, 3.

Education values. See Success, IV, 5.
Effort, exerts more. See Discipline, VII, 3.
Emulates. See Race, XIV, 2.
Encouraging. See Affiliation, 1, 2, 3, or 4 (depends on context).
Endures. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Enjoyment. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Envies another race. See Race, XIV, 2.
Envies (racial). See Race, XIV, 2.
Envies (without racial context). See Success, IV, 2.
Escape. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Equal opportunities. See Race, XIV, 3.
Evasive. See Acquisition, III, 3.
Evil. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Examines situation. See Cognition, V, 1.
Excitement sought. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Exerts more effort. See Discipline, VII, 3.

Fails. See Success, IV, 1.
Family, hostile view. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Family lost. See Success, IV, 1.
Family, positive view. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Family responsibilities, accepts. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Family responsibilities, rejects. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Fatalism. See Deference, X, 4.
Fatigue. See Insecurity, XIII, 4.
Fear. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Fights (physically). See Distrust, XII, 5.
Flees. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Flight. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Food sought. See Acquisition, III, 1.
Friendly. See Affiliation, I, 2.
Fun sought. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Future, plans or prepares for. See Cognition, V, 3.

Generalized anger, resentment. See Social Estrangement, II, 4.
Get even with another race. See Race, XIV, 6.
Gives up. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Goods sought. See Acquistion, III, 1.
Good times (pleasure) sought. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Grasping (for goods, money). See Acquisition, III, 3.
Gratification, deferred. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Gratification, immediate. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Guilt. See Moralism, XV, 2.

Happy ending. See Trust, XI, 1.
Harshness. See Social Estrangement, II, 4.
Hatred, racial. See Race, XIV, 5.
Help expected. See Trust, XI, 1.
Help sought. See Acquisition, III, 2.
Helpful. See Trust, XI, 2.
Hits. See Distrust, XII, 5.
Holdup (robbery). See Acquistion, III, 4.
Honesty. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Hopeful. See Trust, XI, 1.
Hostile family relations. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Hostile. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Hostility, racial. See Race, XIV, 5.
Hurt, other races. See Race, XIV, 6.

Imitates another race. See Race, XIV, 2.
Immorality. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Improvement, expects it. See Trust, XI, 1.
Improvement sought. See Success, IV, 6.
Impulsive. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Inadequate feelings. See Deference, X, 2.
Income sought. See Acquisition, III, 1.
Inferior feelings. See Deference, X, 2.

Information, seeks. See Cognition, V, 3.
Injures (physically). See Distrust, XII, 5.
Inquires. See Cognition, V, 3.
Insecure. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Insults. See Distrust, XII, 3.
Investigates. See Cognition, V, 3.
Intensifies. See Discipline, VII, 3.

Job lost. See Success, III, 1.
Judges others. See Moralism, XV, 3.

"Kicks" sought. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Killing. See Distrust, XII, 7.

Lack of ambition. See Hedonism, VIII, 2.
Leaves (scene, situation). See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Lonely. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.

Maternal concern. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Material goods sought. See Acquisition, III, 1.
Militant for rights. See Autonomy, IX, 2.
Ministers (clergy). See Moralism, XV, 1.
Money sought. See Acquisition, III, 1.
Morality, concern with. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Motivation, high. See Success, IV, 7.
Murder. See Distrust, XII, 7.

Name-calling. See Distrust, XII, 3.
Nationalism. See Race, XIV, 4.
Negative attitude. See Distrust, XII, 1.
Negotiates. See Cognition, V, 2.
Neighbors, good. See Trust, XI, 2.
New life started. See Discipline, VII, 1.
Normless. See Social Estrangement, II, 7.
Norms, community, does not share. See Social Estrangement, II, 3.
Nourishing. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Novelty sought. See Stimulation, VI, 1.

Obeys authority. See Deference, X, 1.
Obeys blindly, passively. See Deference, X, 3.
Oppressed. See Race, XIV, 3.
Optimistic. See Trust, XI, 1.
Ought (duty). See Moralism, XV, 3.
Outcomes of stories, strange. See Unusual perception, 67.
Outcomes of stories, unhappy. See Distrust, XII, 1.

Parental concern. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Pastor (clergy). See Moralism, XV, 1.
Paternal concern. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Penitence. See Moralism, XV, 2.
Perception, unusual. See Unusual perception, 67.

Persists. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Pessimistic. See Distrust, XII, 1.
Physical attack. See Distrust, XII, 5.
Plans. See Cognition, V, 3.
Pleasant outlook. See Trust, XI, 1.
Pleasure sought. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Plods. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Positive view of family, sex. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Postpones pleasure. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Powerless. See Insecurity, XIII, 2.
Prejudice. See Race, XIV, 5.
Prestige desired. See Success, IV, 3.
Pride in race. See Race, XIV, 4.
Problem-solves. See Cognition, V, 3.
Propriety of behavior. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Punishment. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Punitive. See Moralism, XV, 3.

Quarrels. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Quits. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.

Race identified, mentioned. See Race, XIV, 1.
Rage about race. See Race, XIV, 5.
Religion. See Moralism, XV, 1.
Reasons (with others). See Cognition, V, 2.
Recognition desired. See Success, IV, 3.
Reflects. See Cognition, V, 1.
Rejecting. See Social Estrangement, II, 4 or 5.
Remorse. See Moralism, XV, 2.
Resentment, racial. See Race, XIV, 5.
Resentment. See Social Estrangement, II, 4.
Residence, changes. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Resignation. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Resistance to compulsion. See Autonomy, IX, 1.
Resistance, organized around racial issues. See Race, XIV, 6.

Respects authority. See Deference, X, 1.
Rest, wants. See Insecurity, XIII, 4.
Restrained behavior. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Retribution. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Revenge, racial. See Race, XIV, 6.
Reverent. See Moralism, XV, 1.
Revolt, racial. See Race, XIV, 6.
Revolution, racial. See Race, XIV, 6.
Rights, fails to stand up for. See Deference, X, 3.
Rights, fights for. See Autonomy, IX, 2.
Robs. See Acquisition, III, 4.
Rules for behavior lacking. See Social Estrangement, II, 7.
Runs away. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.

Sees unusual perception. See Unusual Perception, 67.
Self-control. See Discipline, VII, 2.
Self-indulges. See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Separation, racial. See Race, XIV, 4.
Sex, exploitive. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Sex, hostile view. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Sex, positive view. See Affiliation, I, 3.
Sexual designs on someone (for pleasure). See Hedonism, VIII, 1.
Shame. See Moralism, XV, 2.
Shiftless. See Hedonism, VIII, 2.
Shoots. See Distrust, XII, 7.
Should (moral duty). See Moralism, XV, 3.
Shrewdness. See Acquisition, III, 3.
Sinfulness. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Skeptical. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Sly. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Sneaky. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Social status desired. See Success, IV, 3.
Starts over. See Discipline, VII, 1.
Status, higher social. See Success, IV, 3.
Steals. See Acquisition, III, 4.
Story unusual. See Unusual Perception, 67.
Stops trying. See Insecurity, XIII, 5.
Strife in relationships. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Strikes (physically). See Distrust, XII, 5.
Struggle, racial. See Race, XIV, 6.
Submissive. See Deference, X, 3.
Subordinate feeling. See Deference. X, 2.
Supernatural figures. See Moralism, XV, 1.
Suspicious. See Distrust, XII, 2.
Suicide. See Distrust, XII, 6.
Sympathetic. See Affiliation, I, 2.

Tedious. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Theft. See Acquisition, III, 4.
Thinks. See Cognition, V, 1.
Thrills. See Stimulation, VI, 1.
Tires. See Insecurity, XIII, 4.
Tries harder. See Discipline, VII, 3.

Uncertain. See Uncertainty, 65.
Uncomplaining. See Trust, XI, 1.
Understanding sought. See Affiliation, I, 2.
Unfair treatment of race. See Race, XIV, 3.
Unforgiving. See Moralism, XV, 3.
Unlikely story. See Unusual Perception, 67.
Unloving. See Social Estrangement, II, 5.
Unscrupulous. See Distrust, XII, 4.
Unsafe. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.
Unspecified crime. See Social Estrangement, II, 6.
Unusual story. See Unusual Perception, 67.
Uprightness, moral. See Moralism, XV, 3.

Values, community, disagrees with. See Social Estrangement, II, 3.
Victim of circumstances. See Insecurity, XIII, 2
Violence, racial See Race, XIV, 6
Violent (no racial context). See Distrust, XII, 5.

Weary. See Insecurity, XIII, 4.
Wicked See Moralism, XV, 3
Work not values. See Hedonism, VIII, 2
Work valued. See Success, IV, 5
Work too hard. See Insecurity, XIII, 4
Worried. See Insecurity, XIII, 3.

APPENDIX B

COMPUTATION OF KENDALL'S COEFFICIENT OF CONCORDANCE W

To compute W, the sum of ranks Rj is found in each column of a k x N table (Table 2). The Rj sums are totaled and divided by N to obtain the mean values of Rj. Each Rj is then expressed as a deviation from the mean value. The sum of squares of these deviations, s, is then found. With these values, the value of W is computed:

$$W = \frac{s}{\frac{1}{12} k^2 (N^3 - N)}$$

where k = the number of raters or sets of rankings, and N = the number of response entities ranked. W may take only values between 0 and +1, since when more than two sets of ranks are involved, the rankings cannot all disagree completely (Siegel, 1956).

The significance of any observed value of W is tested by determining the probablility associated with the occurrence under H_o of a value as large as the s with which it is associated. If the sampling distribution of s for all permutations in the N ranks in all possible ways in the k rankings is obtained, there will be $(N!)^k$ sets of possible ranks. With these, the null hypothesis that the k sets of rankings are independent can be tested by taking from this distribution the probability associated with the occurrence under H_o of a value as large as an observed s. The distribution of s under H_o has been worked out, and certain critical values have been tabled (Siegel, 1956). The significance of the amount of agreement among raters in this study was determined by reference to the "Table of Critical Values of s in the Kendal Coefficient of Concordance" (Siegel, 1956).[10]

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[10] Table adapted from Friedman, M. (1940) with permission of author and publisher.

APPENDIX C

RATING SHEET FOR NEW CAREERS COUNSELORS

Schedule Number

Rater Number

Name of Trainee

Name of Rater

Please rate the trainee as carefully as possible Do not hesitate to give high or low ratings if you honestly think the subject deserved them. The Center is comparing your evaluation with ratings on other tests. Your comments will be held in the strictest confidence. Within 90 days you will have an opportunity to rate the trainee again.

	Characteristic	Frequency					Intensity			
For Office Use Only		Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	High	Moderate	Low	Don't Know
			Please Circle One					Please Circle One		
7 ( ) 8 ( )	Optimistic	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
9 ( ) 10 ( )	Pessimistic	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
11 ( ) 12 ( )	Submissive to others	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
13 ( ) 14 ( )	Dominant over others	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
15 ( ) 16 ( )	Ambitious and highly motivated	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
17 ( ) 18 ( )	Poorly motivated	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
19 ( ) 20 ( )	Active in social interaction (socially active)	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
21 ( ) 22 ( )	Withdrawn in social interaction (socially isolated)	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0

For Office Use Only

Column	Code	
1	( )	CARD SET NUMBER
2-4	( )	SCHEDULE NUMBER
5,6	( )	RATER NUMBER

Schedule Number

Name of Trainee

For Office Use Only		Characteristic	Frequency					Intensity			
			Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	High	Moderate	Low	Don't Know
			Please Circle One					Please Circle One			
23 ( )	24 ( )	Friendly	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
25 ( )	26 ( )	Resentful or brooding	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
27 ( )	28 ( )	Sly and cunning	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
29 ( )	30 ( )	Angry	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
31 ( )	32 ( )	Socially secure	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
33 ( )	34 ( )	Socially insecure	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
35 ( )	36 ( )	Intense worker	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
37 ( )	38 ( )	Plodding worker	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
39 ( )	40 ( )	Worries	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
41 ( )	42 ( )	Bored by job	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
43 ( )	44 ( )	Interested in job	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
45 ( )	46 ( )	Quitting and "give up" tendencies	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
47 ( )	48 ( )	Violent (Temper)	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
49 ( )	50 ( )	Seeks immediate gratification	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
51 ( )	52 ( )	Defers gratification	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
53 ( )	54 ( )	Moral, religious	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
55 ( )	56 ( )	Cooperative	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0
57 ( )	58 ( )	Gets along with other ethnic groups	5	4	3	2	1	3	2	1	0

APPENDIX D

WORKING FORM
COMPARISON SHEET FOR TRAINEE RATING SHEET
AND VOT SCORING FORM

RATING SHEET			COMPARISON				SCORING FORM
Variable	Freq.	Intens.	Rating Sheet	Scoring Form	Freq.	Wt.	Variable
Optimistic							(39) Optimistic
Pessimistic							(46) Suicidal (41) Pessimistic (42) Cynical
Submissive							(35) Respects Authority (36) Feels Inferior (37) Dependent (38) Fatalistic
Dominant							(32,33,34) Autonomy
Ambitious Motivated							(17) Envies (18) Seeks social Status (19) Values Education (20) Values Work (21) Seeks Improvement (22) Ambitious
Poorly Motivated							(31) Neglects Responsibility (14) Wily (15) Steals (16) Fails (62) Uncertain (63) Superficial
Socially Active							(1) Shares Community's Values (2) Affiliated with Others (3) Positive View of Family and Sex (4) Feels responsibility for Community

RATING SHEET			COMPARISON		SCORING FORM		
Variable	Freq.	Intens.	Rating Sheet	Scoring Form	Freq.	Wt.	Variable
Socially Isolated							(5) Disagrees with Story Character (11) Lacks Norms (6) Avoids Involvement (7) Disagrees with Community (9) Views Sex Hostilely
Friendly							(4) Affiliated with Others
Resentful							(8) Anger, Resentment
Sly, Cunning							(44) Sly, Cunning
Angry							(3) Shows Anger (43) Quarrels
Socially Secure							(39) Optimistic (40) Cooperative (2) Affiliated with Others
Socially Insecure							(49) Powerless (62) Uncertainty
Intense Worker							(29) Intensifies
Plodding Worker							(28) Endures, Plods
Worries							(48) Discouraged (50) Anxious
Bored By Job							(26) Seeks Change
Interested In Job							(23) Analyzes (75) Problem-Solves (20) Values Work
Quitting							(51) Fatigues (52) Discontinues Flees (46) Commits suicide
Violent							(45) Attacks Physically (47) Kills (46) Commits suicide

RATING SHEET			COMPARISON		SCORING FORM		
Variable	Freq.	Intens.	Rating Sheet	Scoring Form	Freq.	Wt.	Variable
Seeks Immediate Gratification							(30) Self-Indulges (31) Neglects Work
Defers Gratification							(28) Self-Controlled (25) Plans
* Moral Religious							Feels guilt Concerned with Morality
Cooperative							(40) Cooperative
** Gets along with other Ethnic Groups							(53-58) Race, Ethnicity (Reverse Scores)

*Not scored on scoring sheets.

**Not rated on all counselors' rating sheets.